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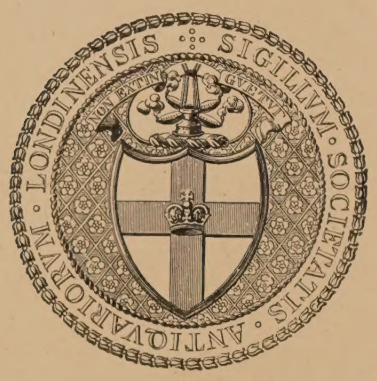

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I.—*The Belgic Dynasties of Britain and their Coins*

By Derek Allen, *Esq.*

Read 4th April 1940

INTRODUCTION

The history of Belgic Britain has usually been reconstructed around the names of the few known kings or chieftains. Apart from two inscriptions and some casual references in classical authors, our only information about them comes from the coinage which bears their names. The pioneer work on this subject was done by Sir John Evans in the last century, and his book is still the chief authority,[1] but many of his conclusions now require modification. This is largely due to the researches of Dr. G. C. Brooke,[2] who shortly before his death suggested a new dating for the earlier and uninscribed coins, but died before he had had time to apply the results fully to the inscribed series.

The introduction of coinage to Britain was placed by him early in I B.C.,[3] and he believed it to have been brought here by the first Belgic settlers. The earliest coins found here are uninscribed gold staters of various types struck in Gaul, all of which bear devices derived through progressive stages from the stater of Philip of Macedon. The earliest coins struck here were developed from at most two of the Gaulish types,[4] on both of which the head of Apollo had become a meaningless pattern, though the horse on the reverse was still remembered as such. In its later phases the names of the issuers and sometimes also of the place of issue were added. Although the contrast between the earlier and the later coins is great, there is no break in the progress from first to last; a continuous and conservative tradition can be traced. It is fair, therefore, to range the whole series of these staters side by side, as if in a family tree.[5] Their differences and resemblances can not only give us an indication of

[1] J. Evans, *The Coins of the Ancient Britons*, 1864; Supplement, 1890.

[2] G. C. Brooke, 'The Philippus in the West and the Belgic Invasions of Britain', *Num. Chron.*, 1933 (Fifth Ser., vol. xiii), pp. 88–138; 'The Distribution of Gaulish and British Coins in Britain', *Antiquity*, 1933 (vol. vii), pp. 268–89.

[3] Brooke, *Num. Chron.*, p. 98.

[4] Evans B 7 = Muret-De la Tour 8593–7; and Muret-De la Tour 8020. Both are illustrated in Brooke, *Num. Chron.*, pl. xi, 8, and xiii, 8, 9. Evans B 8 may be treated as a later variety of Evans B 7.

[5] Leeds, *Celtic Ornament*, 1933, fig. 26. The references in the text to the illustrations from no. 10 onwards are one figure too low.

their relative date, but are the best guide we have to the artistic and cultural affinities of the various tribes and rulers.

The silver and bronze coins, introduced later, do not show the same continuity of tradition as the gold staters. Their origin lay in the imitation of contemporary Roman coinage, and their types are as various as their models. Sometimes they are direct copies of Roman coins, occasionally they are influenced by the gold tradition, but generally they are new inventions, depicting an un-Roman mythology, though under the artistic influence of Rome. We cannot then arrange them in a family tree as we can the gold, but it is probable that we can attach some meaning to their types. Roman coins consciously reflected the political conditions of the time, and the same was probably true of the British copies, even though we rarely know enough to interpret them.

It is on evidence of this nature that we have to base the chronology and history of the British kings whose names are found on the coins. Distribution maps tell us something of the territories they ruled and of their commercial connexions,[1] but for the rest of the story we have to depend on our interpretation of the coin types. This is poor evidence, and must always contain a subjective element; but the proof that the general picture which can thus be drawn is correct lies more in the consistency of the whole than in the certainty of the details. The story rests on a fundamental hypothesis, namely, that the chain of coin evidence is complete in itself. We cannot prove this, but it seems likely for two reasons. Of the nine British chiefs in the sixty or seventy years preceding the Claudian conquest known to us from Roman sources, no less than six or possibly seven have coins to their credit.[2] Secondly, the administrative divisions of Britain in the Roman period were generally based on the pre-Roman tribal areas.[3] The districts in which the different classes of coins are found conform with remarkable accuracy in most cases to the subsequent Roman cantonal frontiers. It is a fair assumption then that we have inscribed coins of all the more important rulers and tribes from the century preceding the Roman conquest.

The inscribed coins fall into two classes, the division between which is both cultural and geographical (see Map I). The first class is found in the south-eastern counties of England and shows a group of tribes with an advanced culture rapidly changing under Roman influence. Beyond this region to the

[1] Previous distribution maps have been published in both of Brooke's articles, but more are given in *Antiquity* than in *Num. Chron.* Revised distribution maps accompany this paper.

[2] Cunobelinus, Adminius, Caratacus, Togodumnus, Dubnovellaunus, Tincommius, Verica, Cogidumnus, Cartimandua. We have no coins of Togodumnus, Cogidumnus, nor probably Adminius, but coins exist of all the rest. Commius is omitted from this list for reasons stated on pp. 5-6. Prasutagas's and Boudicca's reigns lie after the Roman conquest.

[3] Haverfield and Macdonald, *The Romanisation of Roman Britain*, p. 186.

north and west is a ring of tribes in which the coins are limited to decadent and traditional types unaffected by Roman fashions. The first group is composed of the tribes of (i) the Atrebates, with whom were allied the Regni (Map II), (ii) the Catuvellauni, to whom later conquests added the Trinovantes and the Cantii (Maps III, IV and V), and (iii) before their conquest by Cunobelinus,

Map I. The tribal areas of Belgic Britain, as indicated by coin distribution

the Cantii (Map VI). It is in these tribes that Belgic dynasties can be traced whose histories are all intimately interlinked, and it is with them, the nucleus of Belgic power in Britain, that we are chiefly concerned. The outer ring of tribes consists of (i) the Durotriges, (ii) the Dobuni, (iii) the Iceni, and (iv) the Brigantes and Coritani (Maps VII and VIII). Here we are on ground far less sure. The coinage of these tribes shows none of the variety and invention from which we can learn so much in the Belgic area. Indeed they seem intentionally to have withstood the flood of Belgic expansion.[1]

[1] The areas described above as 'tribes' were no doubt loose confederacies of smaller and earlier tribal units, some of whose names, recorded in Caesar, do not appear thereafter.

A. THE BELGIC TRIBES

(i) The Atrebates and Regni

(See Map II; pl. 1, 1–25)

These two tribes corresponded roughly with the counties of Berkshire and Sussex, and had their Roman capitals at Calleva Atrebatum (Silchester) and Noviomagus (Chichester). They also possessed a strip of northern and eastern Hampshire. Another strip of Hampshire between the Meon and the Test belonged in Roman times to the composite canton of the Belgae with its capital at Venta Belgarum (Winchester), but the coins associate it at this earlier date with the Atrebates and the Regni. The area formed by these three units was bounded on the north by the Thames, on the west by the Test, and on the east by the forests of the Weald. Though each a separate tribe in origin, by the time when the inscribed coinage began, they seem to have been merged into a single political unit, for the coins of the dynasty of Commius are found equally in all of them.

Commius

(See Map II; pl. 1, 2)

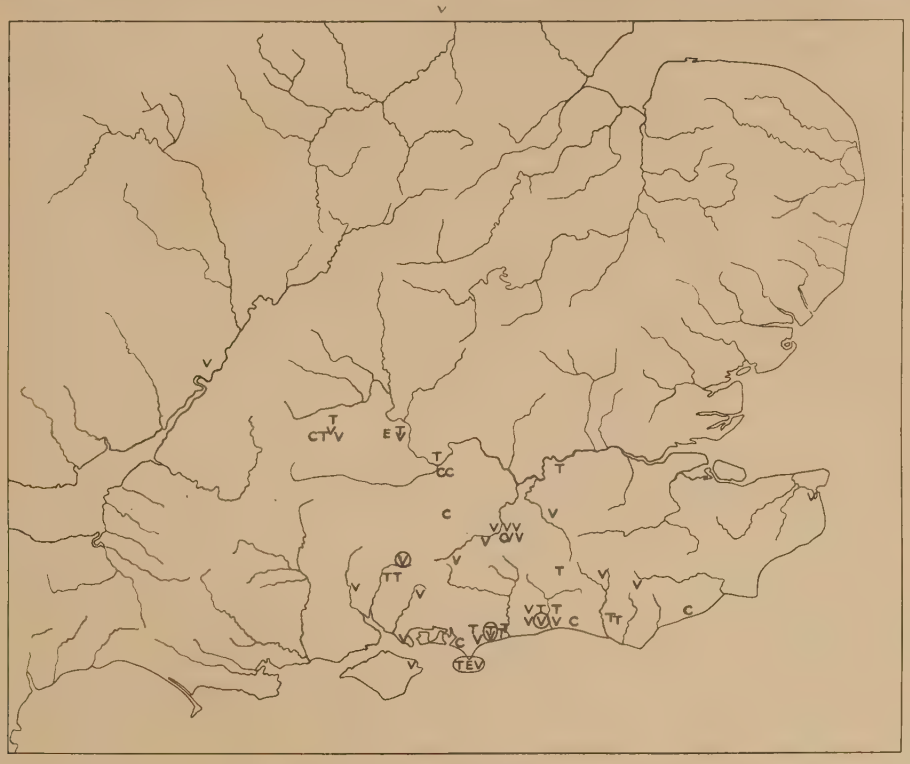
Staters bearing the name of Commius[1] seem to be the earliest inscribed coins of Britain (pl. 1, 2). They are scarce, but are more common amongst the Atrebates than the Regni. But for the addition of the inscription, they are identical with the uninscribed coins of the same district (pl. 1, 1),[2] that is to say, they have the Apollo pattern on the obverse and a disjointed horse on the reverse. These uninscribed coins, Brooke's so-called 'British Remic staters', are derived from coins struck by the Atrebates or Remi in Gaul, of which, curiously, only one specimen has been found in Britain.[3] The coins had a long life here, during which their weight dropped from something over 90 grains to between 82 and 84 grains. The staters of Commius (as almost all inscribed staters) are of this lighter weight and were clearly modelled on the latest of these uninscribed coins. We have no satisfactory means of dating the uninscribed staters, but their introduction to the South Coast cannot have been earlier than Julius Caesar's invasion. We must therefore allow a considerable space of time to have elapsed between that event and the date when the name of Commius first appeared on them.

[1] Evans I, 10 (pl. 1, 2); perhaps some uninscribed quarter-staters of the types found at Selsey should also be attributed to Commius.

[2] Evans B 9 (pl. 1, 1).

[3] Muret-De la Tour 8020; see p. 1, n. 4. A specimen found at the Verne, Portland, is in Dorchester Museum.

For many years now it has been usual to regard the coins with the name of Commius as issued by the Commius who figures so largely in Caesar's narrative.[1] He was king of the Atrebates in Gaul, and was one of Caesar's ambassadors to Britain in 55 B.C. Later he fell foul of the Romans and vowed never to set eyes on one again (51 B.C.).[2] There is an undated story of how he escaped across



Map II. The Atrebates and the Regni
C = Commius T = Tincommius E = Eppillus V = Verica O = a hoard

the sea by a trick.[3] It is presumed that he became the leader of the party of Belgic immigrants who founded the British tribe of the Atrebates in or around Calleva.

This identification has been taken as the chief peg on which to hang the history and the dating of British coins. The theory is a likely hypothesis, but it cannot be regarded as certain, for it involves a number of chronological difficulties. Three rulers describe themselves on their coins as the sons of Commius, and although one, Tincommius, was reigning in the time of Augustus, another,

[1] First mentioned in Holland's Camden, 1637, p. 99; Evans, p. 151 ff.; Brooke, *Num. Chron.*, p. 132.

[2] Caesar, *B.G.* iv, 21, 7; 27, 2; 35, 1; v, 22, 3; vi, 6, 4; vii, 75, 5; 76, 1–3; viii, 6, 2; 23, 2–6; 47, 2; 48, 1–9.

[3] Frontinus, ii, 13, 11.

Verica, as we shall see later, was probably the same person as someone alive in A.D. 43.[1] This is not a period when chiefs can have expected to live long;[2] yet if both these identifications are correct, Verica must have been a son of Commius' old age, and must himself have lived to well over 60. This is not an insuperable difficulty, but of the two identifications that of Verica is certainly the surer. If the Commius of the coins was not the same as Caesar's ally, he may still have been a member of the same family.[3] In any case, the date of his coins must be shortly before those of his son Tincommius, whom we know to have been a contemporary of Augustus, and they cannot be much earlier than the end of the third quarter of I B.C. His staters belong entirely to the first phase of Belgic coinage in Britain, during which no attempt whatever was made to romanize the Gaulish motifs. The lettering of his coins is primitive and is scratched on the outside of the die, where it can scarcely be read.

Tincommius

(See Map II; pl. 1, 3–13)

Commius was succeeded by one of his three sons, Tincommius.[4] There can be no doubt of this, for the earliest type of Tincommius' staters is identical in all but name with his father's coins (pl. 1, 3).[5] There is also a corresponding type of quarter-stater (pl. 1, 4).[6] This issue was succeeded by another in which the coins were completely divorced from the traditional Gaulish type. They dropped the Apollo pattern for the obverse, and placed there instead an inscription in a rectangular panel. On the reverse of the stater the old tradition that there should be a horse was maintained, but the free horse was replaced by a horseman copied directly from a Roman denarius, probably by a Roman engraver (pl. 1, 5).[7] The corresponding quarter-stater was also an original departure, for the reverse bore a head of Medusa, again probably by a Roman engraver (pl. 1, 6).[8] These innovations, however, were not followed up, and the remaining quarter-staters of the reign are all of native work with varieties of the traditional horse motif on the reverse (pl. 1, 8, 10, 11).[9] The later staters,

[1] See p. 9.

[2] Wheeler, *Verulamium*, p. 7.

[3] It should be pointed out, perhaps, that amongst the Atrebates of Gaul are found silver quinarii with the legends CARMANOS COMIOS and CARSICIOS COMMIOS. There are some grounds for attributing these coins to the Commius of Caesar, but they bear no relationship in style or lettering to the British staters of Commius (Muret-De la Tour 8680–7).

[4] The longest legend given on the coins is TINCOM (pl. 1, 4). On the Ancyra Monument there is space for the full name TINCOMMIVS, which is certainly correct.

[5] Evans I. 11–12 (pl. 1, 3).

[6] *Ibid.*, II. 2–3, XVIII. 8 (pl. 1, 4).

[7] *Ibid.*, I. 13, XVIII. 5 (pl. 1, 5).

[8] *Ibid.*, II. 4, XVIII. 6–7 (pl. 1, 6).

[9] *Ibid*, XVIII. 10, 9 (pl. 1, 8), 11, II. 6 (pl. 1, 10), XVIII. 12 (pl. 1, 11), II. 5 = XVIII. 13–14. The order of these coins can be proved by die links except in the case of XVIII. 11.

corresponding to these, all bear native reproductions of the Roman horseman which preceded them (pl. 1, 7, 9).[1] There are also two silver types, based on Roman coins, one of which is a direct copy of a Lugdunum issue of Augustus between about 15 and 12 B.C. (pl. 1, 12, 13).[2] This type of coin is frequently copied on British issues. There are no bronze coins, and it is possible that silver minims were used instead, though no inscribed specimens have been discovered.[3]

All the types of Tincommius are found in the same region as those of his father Commius, but are more plentiful, especially amongst the Regni. There are two indications of his date. The first, mentioned above, is that he imitates a dated coin of Augustus; the second is that his name, or rather a fragment of it, occurs on the Monumentum Ancyranum of A.D. 14, where it is recorded that at an unspecified date he had fled to Augustus as a suppliant.[4] We may therefore place his reign in the last quarter of I B.C. and probably the early years of I A.D. The same monument shows him to have been a contemporary of Dubnovellaunus of Kent, whose history tends to confirm this date.

The reign of Tincommius marks the beginning of the period of Roman influence on the culture of Britain. It is thus precisely parallel to the reign of Tasciovanus north of the Thames, with which it must have synchronized. The lettering of Tincommius's first coins is still the illegible scrawl of his fathers', and is often off the flan. His second issue bears fine Roman letters, complete with serifs, while his last issues, mostly quarter-staters, bear painstaking copies of the second. The types of his coins exhibit, except in the case of the Medusa head, a lack of imagination. When they do not obey a stereotyped tradition they copy slavishly. This is a general characteristic of the coins of the Atrebates and the Regni. Unlike the northern kingdom, their copies lack the redeeming quality of a Celtic touch.

Eppillus at Calleva

(See Map II; pl. 1, 14, 15)

Tincommius was probably succeeded by another son of Commius, by name Eppillus. We have quarter-staters and silver coins of his, both very rare, which read EPPI/CALLEV and EPP/REX CALLE respectively (pl. 1, 14, 15).[5] It has long been assumed, and rightly, that *Eppi* or *Epp* is an abbreviation for Eppillus,

[1] *Ibid.*, II. 8 (pl. 1, 7), I. 14 (pl. 1, 9), II. 1.

[2] *Ibid.*, XIX. 1–2 (pl. 1, 12, 13), based on *B.M.C. Imp. Rom. Coins*, vol. i, nos. 561–3, and 564 or 450 ff. respectively.

[3] e.g. such pieces as Evans, p. 185, nos. 3–4.

[4] Mommsen, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, 1883, p. 135 f., chap. xxxii. Evans's version of the inscription is inaccurate. See also Sandys, *Num. Chron.*, 1918, p. 97.

[5] Evans XX. 1; IV. 1 (pl. 1, 14, 15). III. 13 and possibly also XX. 5 and III. 8 may be coins of Eppillus at Calleva; see p. 33, n. 3.

a name which occurs on a great many coins from Kent, accompanied by the patronymic *Com. F.*, the son of Commius (pl. I, 38–44). Since the vast majority of Eppillus' coins have been found in Kent, an attempt has been made to locate a Calleva there.[1] This, however, is unnecessary, for it has been overlooked that of the four known specimens of this coinage two come from Sussex and one from Berkshire.[2] There can, therefore, be no doubt that Camden was right in identifying the *Callev.* of the coins with Calleva Atrebatum. This town, the northerly focal point of the whole area in which the coins of Commius and his sons are found, is in any case a possible site for the mint of the dynasty.[3]

The types of Eppillus coins from Calleva show that they belong roughly to the period of the late quarter-staters of Tincommius or of the early coins of his successor, Verica.[4] Their rarity shows that he must have had a short reign here. It is a possible conjecture that Eppillus tried to establish a kingdom at Calleva in succession to his brother, Tincommius. Indeed, this may have been the occasion of Tincommius' pilgrimage to Rome. He did not long occupy this kingdom, for he was ousted by his younger brother, Verica, and became a soldier of fortune. Ultimately he carved out for himself a kingdom in Kent, where we shall meet him again.[5] The date of his brief reign may be placed towards the beginning of I A.D.

His few coins at Calleva combine the characteristics of Tincommius and Verica, and are all of native workmanship. The eagle on his silver type, though not copied directly from any Roman coin, is a regular Roman type.[6] His is the first reign in which the title REX is used on a British coin. Elsewhere it occurs only on the coins of Verica and Cunobelinus (pls. I, 17–19; III, 28).

Verica

(See Map II; pl. I, 16–25)

The last of Commius' sons was Verica or Virica; both spellings being used. Except that they are found more thickly in the Surrey hills, his coins

[1] E. C. Curwen, *Antiquity*, xi, 1938, p. 104.

[2] In spite of Brooke, *Num. Chron.*, p. 136, the two gold coins were found at Selsey (Evans, p. 521). One of the two silver coins was found at Wallingford. It is recorded in Ashmole's *Antiquities of Berkshire*, 1786, p. 29. He gives the legend as REX CALLE. This is without question the same specimen as one of the two in the British Museum (pl. I, 15), on which the EPP is nearly illegible. It is probably the specimen seen by Camden's editor, Holland, 1637, and by Speed. It is illustrated in Taylor Combe, *Vet. Pop. Reg. Num.*, p. 10, pl. I, 5.

[3] Recent trial excavations under Mrs. M. Cotton have, however, found little trace of Belgic occupation on the site of Roman Silchester.

[4] e.g. Evans XVIII. 9 (pl. I, 8) or III. 1–2.

[5] See p. 33.

[6] e.g. *B.M.C. Rom. Repub. Coins*, pl. CIII, 1–4. A similar eagle occurs on Trajan's column. For the obverse, compare *ibid.*, pl. XLII, 11 or LXVI, 12.

come from precisely the same areas as those of Commius and Tincommius. His numerous types fall into three issues, each consisting of staters, quarter-staters, and silver pieces, including sometimes silver minims. The first issue consists of coins closely analogous to the later issues of Tincommius.[1] The staters, for instance, have a similar horseman (pl. I, 16). On the second issue the coins are linked by the use of the title REX on all denominations (pl. I, 17, 18, 19).[2] In the third group the coins are marked with either a vine-leaf, a head copied from the portrait of Tiberius, or occasionally a seated figure (pl. I, 20–5).[3] A few of the coins in this group show Roman workmanship (e.g. pl. I, 20),[4] but the majority of the dies were cut by native craftsmen imitating these or true Roman models (e.g. pl. I, 21).[5]

The age of Verica's coins is clearly indicated by the portraits which occur in this last group (pl. I, 23). Grueber was the first to point out that they are copied from Tiberius, not from Augustus. Unfortunately, this has often escaped notice and in consequence the reign of Verica has generally been placed half a century too early.[6] More stress has been laid on the fact that he was a son of Commius than on the nature of his coins. There is much additional evidence to confirm this date. The vine-leaf on the latest staters of Verica (pl. I, 20–2) is certainly intended as the counterpart of the ear of corn which features so largely on the coins of Cunobelinus (pl. III, 3–12). The horseman on a few of the quarter-staters seems to be copied from a common bronze type of Cunobelinus,[7] and the horse on another may also be derived from coins of his.[8] Though coins of Verica have never been found associated with those of Cunobelinus, in the Alresford hoard[9] they were found with a few of Cunobelinus' brother Epaticcus (pl. I, 26), which also have the ear of corn. Details of the corn prove that Epaticcus's coins are not earlier than the middle of Cunobelinus' reign. The hoard is evidence, therefore, that Verica's latest types are at least as late as the middle of Cunobelinus' reign. There is, thus, no chronological difficulty whatever in identifying the Verica of the coins with the Βέρικος who, according to

[1] Evans II. 11 (pl. I, 16), 14 (staters); XIX. 9–10, III. 1–2, II. 13, XIX. 7 (quarter-staters); III. 4 and an unpublished variety in B.M.; Evans, p. 184, 1 and p. 185, 1 (silver).

[2] *Ibid.*, II. 10; XIX. 5–6 (pl. I, 17) (staters); II. 12 (pl. I, 18), XIX. 4 (quarter-staters); III. 3 (pl. I, 19) (silver).

[3] *Ibid.*, II. 9, XIX. 3 (pl. I, 20, 21) (staters); XIX. 4 (pl. I, 22) (a link); XIX. 11, XIX. 8 (pl. I, 23) (quarter-staters); XIX. 14 (pl. I, 24), III. 5–6, p. 184. 2, 3 (pl. I, 25), an unpublished type with the head of Tiberius, and *Num. Chron.*, 1900, p. 264 (silver).

[4] e.g. *ibid.*, p. 511 (pl. I, 20).

[5] e.g. *ibid.*, II. 9, XIX. 3 (pl. I, 21).

[6] Following *ibid.*, p. 170. For his argument concerning the joint use on coins of the names of the brothers, see p. 33, n. 7.

[7] *Ibid.*, XIX. 4, 11 and 8, from XII. 14. XIX. 11 and 8 are from the same reverse die.

[8] *Ibid.*, III. 1–2 reverse, from XXII. 7.

[9] For this hoard, see p. 10, n. 7.

Dion Cassius, was an exile in A.D. 43[1] and appealed to Claudius. Indeed, it would be difficult to avoid this identification, which, though long ago suggested by Akerman, has since been universally abandoned.[2] There is more in favour of it than of the identification with Commius which has so long been accepted.

The date of Verica's reign lies, therefore, in the first and second quarters of I A.D., and consequently he was a precise contemporary of Cunobelinus. The old theory that on the death of Commius the kingdom was partitioned between his sons must be abandoned, since the coins demonstrate that Verica was the successor of Tincommius in the same kingdom, though the succession may have been interrupted by the short episode of Eppillus at Calleva.

Verica's coins exhibit the same lack of imagination as characterizes all those of the southern kingdom. Towards the end of the reign traditional horses and horsemen are replaced by more direct copies of Roman coins, a tendency which may well reflect the political trend of the times. The use of the vine leaf[3] as an answer to the ear of corn must betray a political rivalry between Verica and Cunobelinus. We can be sure of Cunobelinus' opposition to Rome, and it is a natural corollary that his rival should look to Rome for support. Verica, as we have seen, was ultimately driven to appeal to Rome, exiled for a reason at which we can only guess.[4] Not many years afterwards Cogidumnus, apparently his successor as King of the Regni, was a faithful ally of Rome with the title of *Rex et Legatus Augusti*.[5] Thus we have some evidence for the continuity of a romanizing policy in the southern kingdom.

The rivalry between Verica and Cunobelinus, suggested by the vine leaf and the ear of corn, can be traced further. We have already met the coins of Epaticcus, the brother of Cunobelinus. It will be more appropriate to discuss them fully in connexion with Cunobelinus himself,[6] but it is relevant here to say that his reign seems to represent an attempt by Cunobelinus to swallow up the kingdom of Verica. Epaticcus' coins are found mostly south of the Thames and in the northern part of Verica's kingdom, that is, amongst the tribe of the Atrebates. In the ear of corn and the horseman they combine characteristics of both kingdoms. The Alresford hoard[7] shows them to belong to the

[1] Dion Cassius, ix, 19.

[2] Akerman, *Num. Chron.*, 1848 (vol. xi), p. 155.

[3] See p. 25, n. 8.

[4] The exploits of Caratacus? See below, p. 26.

[5] *C.I.L.*, vii, 11; Tacitus, *Agricola*, xiv, 1.

[6] See p. 24.

[7] Evans, p. 509, mentions a small hoard of staters from Alresford of Verica only. This was published in 1890. In 1891, however, in the Shaw sale at Sotheby's, 64 similar staters of Verica and 4 of Epaticcus were sold. It is clear that these 68 coins were the whole or part of a hoard. Evans bought many of them and marked on their tickets 'From the Alresford hoard' with or without a question mark afterwards. It is therefore probable that the two sets of coins were parts of the same hoard. J. W. Shaw lived at Alton, Hants. Only staters of Verica's middle (36+) and later types (40+) were present.

latter part of Verica's reign, and they can best be explained as the coinage of a short-lived kingdom carved from his territory. With the name of Epaticcus must be associated that of his nephew Caratacus,[1] most famous of the sons of Cunobelinus. The evidence, to be examined later, is sufficient to suggest that towards the end of his reign Verica was engaged in an attempt to stem the expansion of Cunobelinus' kingdom, an endeavour which may or may not be connected with his subsequent appeal to Rome.[2]

Summary of the dynasty of Commius

We have thus traced the history of the dynasty which ruled over the Atrebates and the Regni, from the latter part of I B.C. to the Roman conquest. Its territories remained unchanged throughout, except for the temporary loss of part to Epaticcus shortly before the end. This unadventurous policy is paralleled by the lack of imagination in its coins, and the kingdom is marked by a subservience of the Celtic spirit to Rome. The skill of its workmen is that of the copyist, who has not yet entirely absorbed the technique of his master. Its history provides close parallels, as well as some sharp contrasts, with the rival kingdom north of the Thames.

(ii) The Catuvellauni and the Trinovantes

(See Maps III, IV, and V; pl. II, 1–29, pl. III, 1–35)

The territory of the Catuvellauni cannot be defined so precisely as that of the Atrebates and the Regni, for its political frontiers were not constant. The original core of the tribe may have occupied quite a small area around and south of Verulamium, but it was ruled by a restless dynasty which continually brought new tribes within the ambit of its power.

Cassivellaunus

Although Caesar considered the Cantii the most advanced of British tribes,[3] it was the Catuvellauni under their king Cassivellaunus who most strongly withstood him, and we are led to suppose that politically they were the leading tribe of Britain. Caesar mentions the existence of gold coins in Britain at this time[4] and Brooke has supposed that the type of uninscribed stater found at

[1] See p. 26.

[2] Evans, p. 507 f., following Willett, has constructed an elaborate theory on the basis of a series of coins, found both in Britain and in Gaul, with the mark V on the obverse (Evans XIX. 12–13), that Verica ruled on both sides of the channel. This mark, however, cannot be a monogram of VE (which appears as VE on one silver piece of Verica), and is probably not a letter at all.

[3] Caesar, *B.G.*, v, 14.

[4] It is now possible to explain all three of the forms of currency mentioned by Caesar (*B.G.*, v, 12) in Britain. The gold staters and the currency bars explain the *nummo aureo* and the *taleis ferreis*

Whaddon Chase should be attributed to Cassivellaunus (pl. II, 1).[1] These coins certainly belong to the Catuvellauni and were the precursors of the inscribed series from the same tribe, but it is more likely that the coins to which Caesar refers are the uniface staters of the Gaulish Atrebates. They are the commonest of all the uninscribed staters found in Britain and some of them may have been struck here. The lively development of new types and new ideas which the Whaddon Chase coins[2] display fall more readily into the phase of progress which followed Caesar's campaigns than into the reign of his chief opponent. If this is so, the Whaddon Chase coins are slightly later than has been suspected, a fact of some importance in dating the subsequent coins.

Tasciovanus

(See Map III; pl. II, 3–29)

The first name known to us on coins of the Catuvellauni is Tasciovanus, sometimes spelt Tasciavanus,[3] Taxciavanus,[4] or even Tasceovans.[5] His coins are found in a well-defined area between the Fens and the Thames. Except for a small strip of Kent, between the Medway and Darent, the Thames forms the southern frontier throughout. On the east the area is divided from the Iceni by the Ouse and its tributary the Lark. The Essex region south of the Brett or the Stour, occupied by the tribe of the Trinovantes, who in the following reign were fully incorporated with the Catuvellauni, may for a while have been in his hands. In the west the frontier was shared with the Dobuni and followed the line of the Nen or the Welland, continued to the Thames by the Cherwell. This western boundary is more clearly marked in the reign of Cunobelinus than in that of his father Tasciovanus. If we are to believe Dr. Wheeler's theory of a Belgic frontier defence from Verulamium to Wheathamsted,[6] the true territory of the Catuvellauni may only have consisted of the land between this and the Thames, but the distribution of the coins gives evidence of economic penetration, if not of political domination, over the much wider area which has been indicated. We need not suppose that this all fell into the hands of Tasciovanus at one time, for the coins do not show, as in the reign of his successor Cunobelinus, an even distribution throughout.

Tasciovanus is wholly unknown to us except from his numerous coins. It has often been stated that he was a son of Cassivellaunus, but this is a pure

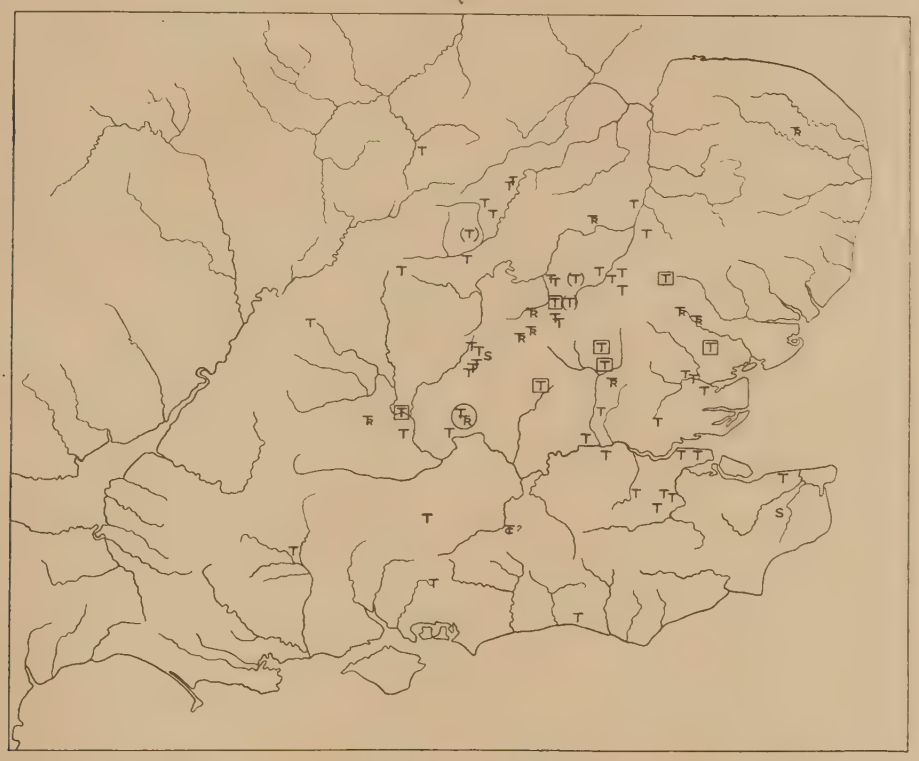
ad certum pondus examinatis; the *aere* must be the so-called 'tin' coinage (Evans H 1–8), which in fact is composed of two parts of copper to one of tin. On the date of these coins, see my article in *Trans. Internat. Num. Congress*, 1936, pp. 351–7.

[1] Brooke, *Num. Chron.*, p. 123; *Antiquity*, p. 278.

[2] Evans C 5–8 (pl. II, 1). [3] *Ibid.*, V. 8, etc. (pl. II, 3). [4] *Ibid.*, V. 9 (pl. II, 4).

[5] *Ibid.*, XII. 3 (pl. III, 30). [6] Wheeler, *Verulamium*, p. 15 f.

supposition.[1] His earliest staters (pl. II, 3–4)[2] are unmistakably descended from the Whaddon Chase type (pl. II, 1),[3] by way of one or two intermediate steps, also uninscribed (e.g. pl. I, 2).[4] Besides the addition of a legend the chief difference is that they have a *bucranium* above the horse's back.[5] If we are right in dissociating the Whaddon Chase coins from Cassivellaunus, it is



Map III. The Catuvellauni

T = Tasciovanus, Verulamium and uncertain mints (T) = uninscribed coins attributed to Tasciovanus R = Tasciovanus, Riconi... C = Tasciovanus, Camulodunum mint S = Sego... ○ = a hoard □ = a prolific area

possible, as this descent suggests, that many years elapsed between the two reigns. Brooke's conjecture that an intervening generation is supplied by the coins reading Andoco . . . (pl. II, 30–2) is untenable for reasons which will be stated later,[6] though the chronology implied in this view may well be right.[7]

[1] Evans implies the possibility, but does not state it. The theory has, however, grown out of his dating.

[2] Evans V. 8-9 (pl. II, 3, 4).

[3] *Ibid.*, C 5-8 (pl. II, 1). Die-links show that C 8 is earlier than C 5-7.

[4] *Ibid.*, C 9, 10 (pl. II, 2).

[5] For the object beneath the horse, see p. 32, n. 5.

[6] See p. 20.

[7] Brooke, *Num. Chron.*, p. 126; *Antiquity*, p. 285; Wheeler, *Verulamium*, p. 9.

The legend on these early staters of Tasciovanus is inscribed in the crudest possible lettering, generally off the flan,[1] and the varied spellings betray an unfamiliarity with the art of writing. They are thus closely parallel with the coins of Commius and the earliest pieces of Tincommius, and no doubt belong to the same period.

On later staters the primitive horse and *bucranium* are replaced by a spirited warrior on horseback, brandishing a *carnyx*, and the letters, though well formed, are curiously distributed in the field (pl. II, 6, 8).[2] On a few coins of this type there is inserted in the Apollo pattern of the obverse an additional legend VER,[3] the mint signature of Verulamium, as many silver and bronze types show.[4] These staters differ so little from those without the signature, that both must have been struck at Verulamium; and since the identical obverse type is used with both the earlier and the later classes of staters, it is probable that the earlier coins were struck there too.

Verulamium was also the chief mint for the silver and bronze coins of Tasciovanus (pl. II, 9–14, 15–22). Many of them bear the mint signature; some of them have it without the king's name, while others, which have the king's name only, were certainly struck there. It is not possible to place these types in a wholly convincing order, but amongst the bronze coins there appears to be a development from bearded to beardless heads, the latter at first resembling Marcus Antonius and later Augustus (pl. II, 16–21).[5] The silver form a roughly parallel series[6] ending with an imitation of one of Augustus's Lugdunum types (15–12 B.C.),[7] a coin which was also imitated by Tincommius (pl. II, 9–14). There is, however, no need to suppose in the case of either silver or bronze that the different types were always issued one after the other; as at Rome, a number of types may have been issued simultaneously or recurrently. Tasciovanus was the first to introduce silver and bronze currency to the Catuvellauni, an innovation which may not have come at the beginning of his reign; but these coins show that for what must have been at least the greater part of the reign, the Verulamium mint was extremely active.

[1] See specimen illustrated in *B.M.Q.*, x, pl. xxxv, 6.

[2] Evans V. 10–12, XX. 11 (pl. II, 6, 8).

[3] *Ibid.*, VI. 11–12.

[4] The name occurs in full, VERVLAMIO, on Evans VII. 3 (pl. II, 22).

[5] First group, e.g. Evans VII. 6 = XXI. 5 (pl. II, 16), VII. 9–11 (pl. II, 17); second group, e.g. VII. 7 = XXI. 11 (pl. II, 20), VII. 8 (pl. II, 18), XXI. 4 (pl. II, 19); third group, e.g. XXI. 3 (pl. II, 21), 10, 8. In the third group there is a single type of double denomination, VI. 8 (pl. II, 15). In the others there are a few half denominations, e.g. VIII. 1–2.

[6] First group, e.g. Evans VI. 3–4, 6, 7 (pl. II, 12, 10, 9); second group, e.g. VII. 1–2 (pl. II, 13); third group, e.g. VI. 5 (pl. II, 14). VI. 10 = XXI. 1 (pl. II, 11) corresponds with VIII. 5 = XXI. 2, and may belong to the second group.

[7] Evans VI. 5 (pl. II, 14), copied from *B.M.C. Rom. Imp. Coins*, vol. i, nos. 450 ff. See also p. 7, n. 2.

To establish the date of these coins and consequently of Tasciovanus we have to take into account the results of Dr. Wheeler's excavations at Verulamium, which have shown that the intensive occupation of the pre-Roman site there only began about 15–10 B.C.[1] It is after this date, then, that we must place the life of the Verulamium mint and, therefore, of Tasciovanus himself. The profusion of types shows that it cannot have been a short reign, and if it began towards the middle of the last quarter of I B.C., it must have lasted well into I A.D. Tasciovanus was thus an exact contemporary of Tincommius, a fact which is supported by the completely parallel development of their coins. It is also confirmed by the relationship between the coins of Tasciovanus and those of Dubnovellaunus in Kent, which we shall consider hereafter.[2]

Though Verulamium was the chief, it was not the only, mint of the reign. There is a stater which in most respects resembles the early gold of Verulamium, but the legend is in better characters and more legibly placed, and it omits the *bucranium* (pl. II, 23).[3] A quarter-stater has now been discovered which undoubtedly corresponds with this stater, but instead of bearing the name of Tasciovanus, it has the monogram CAM, a mint signature of Camulodunum (Colchester) (pl. II, 24).[4] These two coins together seem to be evidence for a mint of Tasciovanus at Camulodunum.[5] Few coins of Tasciovanus have been found in the Essex region, although this became the centre of his son's kingdom, and it has been generally believed that the Trinovantes were never ruled by him. However, these coins suggest that for a short while in the earlier part of his reign Colchester fell into his hands. It seems probable that he was expelled from there by a certain Aððedomarus,[6] whose name also is only known to us from coins.

Aððedomarus

(See Map IV; pl. II, 33–8)

In Caesar's time there was already in existence a quarrel between the Catuvellauni and the Trinovantes;[7] it arose, no doubt, from the aggressive tactics of the invaders, for while the Catuvellauni, or at least their rulers, were of Belgic extraction, the Trinovantes seem to have been of native stock.[8] The

[1] Wheeler, *Verulamium*, pp. 41–6. [2] See p. 30. [3] Evans V. 7 (pl. II, 23).

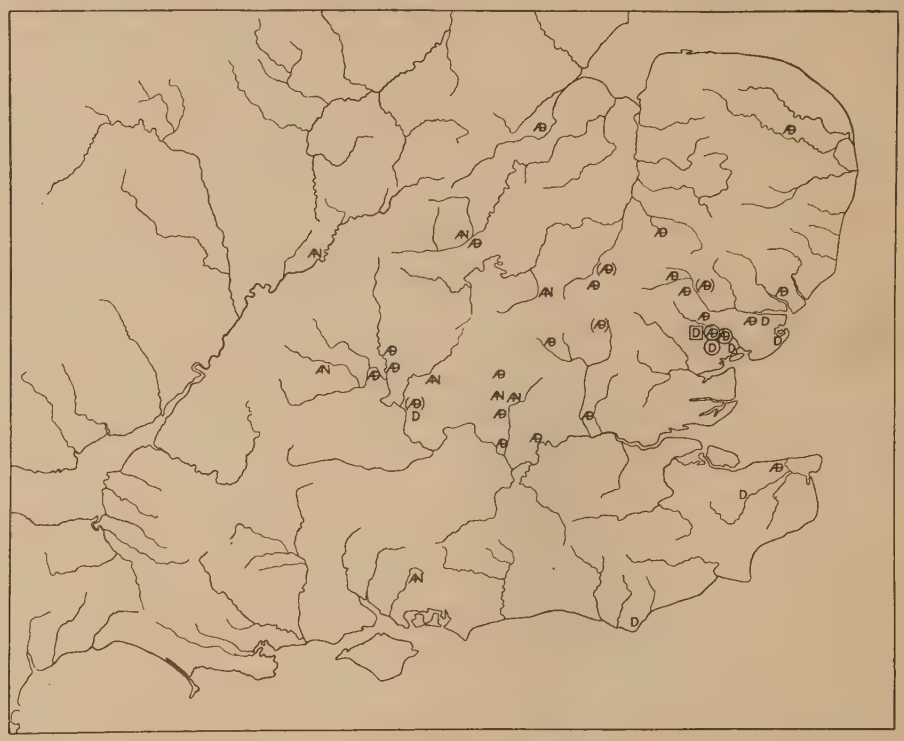
[4] In B.M., unpublished; believed to have been found at Farley Heath (pl. II, 24).

[5] For a coin of Cunobelinus connected with these, see p. 22, n. 2.

[6] This name is usually given as Addedomarus, but the legend is invariably AÐÐIIDOMAROS or AÐÐEDOMAROS. On Gaulish coins the symbols Ð ð are certainly equivalent to TH or SS, which are no doubt meant to represent the sound of the English *Th* (see Blanchet, *Traité des Mon. Gauloises*, p. 88). It is thus more correct to write the name Aððedomarus or even Athedomarus than to employ the usual spelling. I have used the termination -US in preference to -OS for the sake of uniformity. Both on these coins and on those of Anteðrig, amongst the Dobuni, Ð is sometimes given the form Θ.

[7] Caesar, *B.G.*, V, 20. [8] The evidence for this is archaeological.

coins suggest that this enmity had survived until the time of Tasciovanus. There is a series of staters and quarter-staters bearing the name of Aððedomarus,[1] which are derived from the same prototypes as the earliest staters of Tasciovanus[2] (pl. II, 2). Many details of their types are similar, but Aððedomarus coins show a wildness of style which contrasts with the more polished



Map IV. Trinovantes and the western neighbours of the Catuvellauni

Ⱥ = Aððedomarus; (Ⱥ) = uninscribed coins attributed to Aððedomarus
D = Dubnovellaunus in Essex AN = Andoco... ○ = a hoard
□ = a prolific area

manner of Tasciovanus, and reflects, no doubt, the non-Belgic character of his tribe.[3] His coins are found mostly on the Essex borders, but are also spread thinly over most of the area in which Tasciovanus coins are found. We may perhaps see in Aððedomarus a ruler of the Trinovantes, who extended his influence inland at the expense of the Catuvellauni. It is noticeable that his coins are never found across the Icenian frontier, but the number found along

[1] Evans XIV. 7-9, 5-6, 1, 3 (pl. II, 33, 35, 37) (staters); XIV. 2, 4 (pl. II, 38) (quarter-staters). The uninscribed quarter-stater D 13 (pl. II, 34) should certainly be attributed to Aððedomarus; also an unpublished quarter-stater (pl. II, 36). See also Evans, *Num. Chron.*, 1902, p. 11.

[2] Evans C 9 (pl. II, 2).

[3] Triplication of motifs, such as that of the Apollo pattern on Evans XIV. 5–6, is a characteristic feature of early Celtic art in Britain, but occurs on no coins from the Belgic tribes.

it suggests that this was the road by which the invasions took place.[1] The derivation of his coins and the crudity of the lettering on them show Aδδedomarus to have been a contemporary of Tasciovanus, into whose kingdom he endeavoured to penetrate. The struggle between the two was no doubt continuous and fortunes varied, and it may have been in the course of this that Tasciovanus both won and lost Camulodunum.

Aδδedomarus staters are of three types which can be arranged in a chronological order[2] (pl. II, 33, 35, 37). The last of them bears a palm branch beneath the horse. This emblem, perhaps a symbol of his successes against Tasciovanus, connects his coins with another series of staters bearing the name of Dubnovellaunus (pl. II, 39), which are also found in Essex. This king, who also ruled in Kent, seems to have expelled Aδδedomarus from Camulodunum towards the end of Tasciovanus' reign, and to have adopted with small modifications the former's latest type of stater. We shall return to Dubnovellaunus later when we deal with the history of Cunobelinus. Camulodunum was a city much fought over in the early years of I A.D., and it was not till Dubnovellaunus in his turn had been displaced by Cunobelinus that Camulodunum and the Trinovantes returned to the possession of the Catuvellauni.[3]

Tasciovanus (continued)

Another mint of Tasciovanus has often been seen in the staters which read RICON or RICONI, after the king's name (pl. II, 25).[4] Though they bear a warrior on horseback, as do the later Verulamium staters, he is differently represented, and in a less polished style. Both legends are placed in a rectangular panel on the obverse. Attempts have been made to locate an unknown town, Riconium, on the basis of these coins, but the find-spots are too widely scattered to help.[5] Though the difference of style is so great as to suggest that they were not struck at Verulamium, a more probable explanation of the legend is that Riconi or Rigoni is a Celtic form of the Latin Rex, a title which, as we have seen, occurs sporadically on the inscribed coinage. It is not usual to find a mint name

[1] Brooke is wrong in suggesting (*Antiquity*, p. 289) that Aδδedomarus is the same as the Icenian Anteδ... See p. 40, n. 4.

[2] (i) Evans XIV. 7–9 (pl. II, 33); closest to prototype C 9, lettering most primitive; (ii) XIV. 5–6 (pl. II, 35), the same pattern divided into 3 instead of 2, similar lettering; (iii) XIV. 1, 3 (pl. II, 37), original obverse; better lettering with E for II; type continued by Dubnovellaunus. This is the reverse of the order suggested by Evans.

[3] It is possible that yet another stage in the history of Camulodunum is represented by the stater Evans XIII. 14 (pl. II, 40). Evans's reading, *Diborigus*, is certainly wrong. It may be DIRAS. A specimen has been found at Colchester. The coin must be roughly contemporary with the later types of Aδδedomarus, but it may be of Kentish origin. See also p. 40.

[4] Evans VIII. 6–9, XX. 12 (pl. II, 25). The C of *Riconi* is occasionally in the form G.

[5] Wheeler, *Antiquity*, viii, 1933, p. 33.

on the same side of the coin as the king's name. The only certain instance of it in Cunobelinus' reign has been explained by Evans as an engraver's error.[1] A title would be far more likely in this place. A quarter-stater bearing only the king's name seems to go with these staters (pl. II, 26),[2] but no silver or bronze can be attributed to the series with certainty.[3]

There are other unexplained legends on Tasciovanus coins. DIAS occurs with and without his name on coins of the Verulamium mint.[4] Since it occurs on the same side of the coin as the legend TASC (pl. II, 20), it cannot be, as has been suggested,[5] only an alternative spelling. RVIIS (= Rues), usually read wrongly RVFI,[6] occurs on coins which are so similar to those of Tasciovanus that they must be connected.[7] On one type the legend is combined with the Verulamium mint signature.[8] Neither of these legends can be a mint name, and here again some sort of title or cognomen is the likeliest explanation.

Finally there are gold staters which have the name TASCIO on one side and SECO on the other (pl. II, 27).[9] Except for the obverse, which instead of the Apollo pattern bears the legend in a panel, the type is that of the later Verulamium staters; there is no perceptible difference of style between the two. In this case also attempts have been made to locate an eastern Segontium on the basis of the coins.[10] However, since the style of the coins suggests that they may be a product of the Verulamium mint, an alternative explanation is preferable, namely, that the legend is parallel to the regular TASCIO/CVNO on coins of Cunobelinus. Sego.... would then be the name of a son of Tasciovanus, presumably his short-lived successor at Verulamium. His coins are very rare; but a quarter-stater reading TASC probably belongs to the same series (pl. II, 28),[11] and there is a silver piece with the legend SECO (pl. II, 29).[12] A Segonax was king in Kent during Caesar's invasion.[13] The fact that another of Tasciovanus' sons was already installed at Verulamium may be the reason which induced Cunobelinus to set up his rival capital at Camulodunum in the territory of a subjected enemy.

The coinage of Tasciovanus reflects the same stage in the development of the Catuvellauni as that of Tincommius amongst the Atrebates and the Regni.

[1] Evans IX. 11, p. 303. [2] *Ibid.*, V. 14 (pl. II, 26).
[3] The unique silver coin, Evans VI. 1, on which the legend is quite uncertain, may go with these.
[4] *Ibid.*, VI. 14, VII. 7 = XXI. 11 (pl. II, 20).
[5] P. Carlyon-Britton, *Brit. Num. Journ.*, viii, pp. 1–8.
[6] Evans VII. 12–13, VII. 14, XXI. 13–14, VIII. 1.
[7] *Ibid.*, XXI. 13–14, cf. VI. 6; VIII. 1, cf. VI. 7; VII. 14, cf. VI. 2; VII. 12–13, cf. XXI. 4 and VII. 9–10.
[8] *Ibid.*, VII. 12–13. But VII/R can be read as R/VII, though this is the less likely reading.
[9] *Ibid.*, VIII. 11 = XX. 9 (pl. II, 27).
[10] *Ibid.*, p. 275; Wheeler, *Antiquity*, viii, 1933, p. 33.
[11] Evans XX. 10 (pl. II, 28). [12] *Ibid.*, VIII. 10 (pl. II, 29). [13] Caesar, *B.G.*, v, 22.

In both reigns the earliest staters had a traditional horse, and were followed by others in which the horse was replaced by a horseman; but whereas Tincommius made direct copies from Roman models, Tasciovanus invented new types.[1] The horseman with the *carnyx* is essentially a British type, even though the use of a horseman may originally be due to Roman influence. Much the same is true of the fantastic silver and bronze types. Many of the bearded heads have no Roman counterparts, and the phantasmagorial animals on the reverse, though belonging sometimes to Roman mythology, have nothing Roman about their appearance. In these coins we are presented with a phase of late Celtic art which has received scant justice. It is not right to dismiss the art of Tasciovanus, or even that of Cunobelinus after him, as a pale shadow of Rome, any more than we should brush aside archaic Greek art as a provincial imitation of Egyptian. We are faced with the early stages of a new art formed under the enlivening influence of the Belgic invaders on the old Celtic stock of Britain. This art was peculiar to those parts of Britain where the vitality of a new aristocracy was able to found a new school of Celtic art. To what achievements it might have attained we do not know, for it was cut short in its early stages by the Roman invasion, and little has survived except the coins to represent it.[2] Outside the region where this fusion took place we find that primitive types survived unmodified, to testify to the relative poverty of late Celtic art when not awakened by some such stimulus.[3]

We must see the reign of Tasciovanus in two lights, therefore. Politically it was a period of continuous warfare and expansion, in the course of which various non-Belgic tribes around were subjected to the rule of the Catuvellauni. Chief amongst these were for a while the Trinovantes and the section of the Cantii between the Medway and the Darent. Parallel to the political expansion we find a new cultural movement, bred of a fusion of Belgic with native elements, which showed signs of leading to a new phase of Celtic art in which figures predominated over patterns. Neither in the political nor in the cultural sphere do the coins give us any trace of direct Roman influence. The course of events here described must have lain entirely within the period of the reign of Augustus.

[1] Similarly, Tasciovanus regularly uses the non-Roman form II for E, a letter-form which never occurs in the southern kingdom.

[2] A few objects, such as the linch-pin from Colchester (Wheeler, *Verulamium*, pl. LXII, 1) or the boar from the Lexden tumulus (*Archaeologia*, LXXVI, pl. LVIII), must belong to the period of Cunobelinus at Colchester.

[3] Mr. C. F. C. Hawkes points out to me that to these tribes the art of coinage was alien and exotic; one must judge their artistic achievement by the work of their bronze-smiths rather than by their coins. But it is nevertheless true that the later bronzes lack the refinement of the earlier examples.

Andoco....

(See Map IV; pl. II, 30-2)

Brooke suggested, and his view has generally been followed, that a king whose coins read Andoco.... was the father and predecessor of Tasciovanus in the kingdom of Catuvellauni.[1] There are staters (pl. II, 30), quarter-staters (pl. II, 31), silver (pl. II, 32) and bronze coins bearing this name, which may be completed as Andocos, Andocommius, or Andocoveros. The obverse of the staters is very close to those of Tasciovanus (pl. II, 3, 4, 6, 8),[2] and it was this which suggested to Brooke their relationship. The reverse, however, makes this attractive theory impossible. The horse is not far removed from the animal on Tasciovanus' coins, but the other differences are significant. The object above the horse's back, which on the coins of Tasciovanus is a *bucranium*, has been misunderstood and turned into a meaningless pattern; the legend is in well-formed letters and is placed in the field as on the coins of Cunobelinus. Neither of these facts is compatible with the view that the Andoco.... staters precede Tasciovanus; in fact, the only tenable theory is that they are imitated from his, possibly as late as the reign of Cunobelinus himself. The silver and bronze coins also support this late date.[3] The coins are found on the north and west borders of the dominions of Tasciovanus, and Andoco.... was probably a ruler of some minor tribe on the western borders of the Catuvellauni, which stood in much the same relationship to Tasciovanus on the west as did Aððedomarus on the east. We cannot give a name to his tribe, but it lived between the Catuvellauni and the Dobuni. It was certainly incorporated in time in Cunobelinus' kingdom. The style of the coins suggests that it, too, was under a Belgic ruler.

Cunobelinus

(See Map V; pl. III, 1–35)

The successor of Tasciovanus was his son Cunobelinus, the only king of these times whose memory has survived in British tradition.[4] He is mentioned in various places by Roman historians, and he was undoubtedly the most spectacular of early British rulers.

[1] Brooke, *Num. Chron.*, p. 126; *Antiquity*, p. 285.

[2] Evans V. 4, cf. V. 9 (pl. II, 30, cf. II, 4); quarter-staters V. 5 (pl. II, 31).

[3] *Ibid.*, V. 6 (pl. II, 32) and p. 217; P. Carlyon Britton Sale, 1913, lot 53. Three specimens have now been discovered of the bronze coin, showing that Stukeley's drawing is substantially correct. One is in the Ashmolean Museum, a second in Mr. R. C. Lockett's collection; the third was found at Little Harting, Sussex.

[4] e.g. Geoffrey of Monmouth; Harleian Genealogies, MS. Harl. 3859. The dates assigned to Cunobelinus by these and other chronicles were given some credence by Evans, but since they are not consistent with one another, it is better to neglect their evidence.

We know from coin legends that Cunobelinus was a son of Tasciovanus; we know also that he had a brother, Epaticcus, whom we have already met amongst the Atrebates, and perhaps a second brother, Sego...., at Verulamium.[1] From Suetonius we learn that in or about A.D. 40 Cunobelinus banished a son, Adminius, who thereupon addressed a long-winded appeal to Caligula.[2]

Map V. The Catuvellauni, Trinovantes, and Cantii
C = Cunobelinus E = Epaticcus A = Caratacus ○ = a hoard
□ = a prolific area

From Dion Cassius we learn that by the time of the Roman invasion of A.D. 43 Cunobelinus was dead and his kingdom divided between two sons, Caratacus and Togodumnus.[3] From the coins, as well as from Dion Cassius, we learn that his capital was at Camulodunum. Suetonius calls him *Brittanorum Rex*,[4] and on one type of coin he himself uses the title REX.[5]

Beyond this meagre amount our knowledge of Cunobelinus must be extracted from his coins, which are more numerous even than those of Tasciovanus. They are found in the same areas, but are more thickly distributed over

[1] See pp. 9, 10, 18, 20.

[2] Suetonius, *Gaius*, xliv. Adminius is called by Orosius 'Minocynobellinus' (vii, 5), clearly a textual corruption in Orosius or his source.

[3] Dion Cassius, lx, 19-23. [4] Suetonius, *loc. cit.* [5] Evans XII. 5 (pl. III, 28).

them. The frontiers had been extended in two directions before the end of the reign. Camulodunum and the Trinovantes were now definitely added to the kingdom of Tasciovanus, and Kent was also conquered. By what may be no more than a coincidence, only one of his coins has been found in the tongue between the Medway and the Darent, which had belonged to Tasciovanus. In all other directions the frontiers remained intact, but the traces of occupation in the frontier districts are denser than in the time of his father, a fact from which we may deduce that in these directions he was content to consolidate his father's conquests. Rival kingdoms such as those of Aððedomarus and Andoco.... now finally disappear.[1]

It is doubtful if Cunobelinus inherited his father's domains peacefully. There is no continuity between his and his father's coins such as we find between father and sons in the dynasty of Commius.[2] From the first his coins were struck at Camulodunum, the capital of a tribe traditionally at enmity with his father's kingdom,[3] and we have seen some evidence, slight though it is, of another son of Tasciovanus, Sego....,[4] succeeding his father at Verulamium. Evans thought it likely that Cunobelinus won for himself the kingship of the Trinovantes during his father's lifetime,[5] but, in view of the partition which took place on Cunobelinus's death, it is more likely that a similar partition took place on the death of Tasciovanus, in which Cunobelinus received the eastern sphere of influence. This would account both for the presence of Cunobelinus at Camulodunum and for the lack of continuity with his father's coins. Once established at Camulodunum, it did not take him long to rob his brother of the remainder of the original kingdom.

Even Camulodunum had to be won by force of arms. We have already seen that Tasciovanus disputed its possession with Aððedomarus, who later lost it to Dubnovellaunus,[6] from whom it seems finally to have been captured by Cunobelinus, in whose hands it remained until his death.

[1] See pp. 15, 20.

[2] This is often stated and is generally true, but an unpublished silver coin from Colchester (related perhaps to the staters, Evans IX. 1–2, XXII. 1 (pl. II, 1–2), and the unpublished quarter-stater in B.M., pl. III, 13) bears a horse on the reverse which is akin to that on the coins of Tasciovanus, here ascribed to Colchester. The new silver coin may be the earliest of the silver series. The *Riconi*... staters of Tasciovanus also seem to be connected with such coins as X. 1–3, XI. 5, 7–8 (pl. III, 23), XII. 9 (pl. III, 22) (which themselves link up with XI. 2–3 (pl. III, 14), and a common unpublished bronze type from Colchester), which are all of a rough and ready style. It might be truer to say that there is no continuity with proved Verulamium coins.

[3] See p. 15. [4] See p. 18. [5] Evans, p. 287, also pp. 201, 226.

[6] And perhaps others, see p. 17, n. 3, and p. 40.

Dubnovellaunus in Essex

(See Map IV; pl. II, 39)

Dubnovellaunus[1] possessed territory on both sides of the Thames estuary, and a separate series of coins is found in each district. The main kingdom lay in Kent, and we shall have more to say of it later.[2] In Essex, however, there is found in some numbers a single type of stater (pl. II, 39),[3] less commonly a bronze type,[4] and there is a unique quarter-stater.[5] On the gold there is a palm branch beneath the horse, as on the last type of Aδδedomarus (pl. II, 37),[6] but the style is infinitely more polished and betrays the skilled hand of a Kentish craftsman. The obverse, though ultimately derived from the Apollo pattern, is an improved version of the elements employed by Aδδedomarus. Most of the staters of Cunobelinus at Camulodunum seem to be descended from the horse of Dubnovellaunus in Essex (pl. II, 1–12). They, too, have the palm branch, though it is placed above instead of below the horse, while the ear of corn on the obverse was suggested by a pattern such as that on the staters of Dubnovellaunus.[7]

It is probable, therefore, that Cunobelinus succeeded Dubnovellaunus at Camulodunum, driving him to retreat either into exile or across the estuary into his Kentish kingdom. It is impossible to give a precise date to this event, but we have a rough guide to the date of Dubnovellaunus in the fact that he is one of the two British suppliant kings whom Augustus mentions in the *Monumentum Ancyranum* (A.D. 14).[8] We cannot tell whether his expulsion by Cunobelinus was the occasion for this appeal, but in any case the relative chronology of the Kentish coins suggests a date for it in the first ten years of I A.D., a date which agrees well with what we know of Tasciovanus.

Cunobelinus (continued)

The general progress of Cunobelinus' conquests cannot be traced, though the number of victory and warrior types on the silver and bronze coins suggests that it was long-drawn out.[9] In two directions, however, south of the Thames, there is some evidence on which to build an interesting, if speculative, story.

[1] For the form of the name see p. 42, n. 11.

[2] See p. 30.

[3] Evans IV. 6–9 (pl. II, 39).

[4] Unpublished from Colchester.

[5] In Colchester Museum from Lawford, unpublished.

[6] *Ibid.*, XIV. 1, 3 (pl. II, 37); see p. 17, n. 2.

[7] *Ibid.*, IX. 4–10, XXII. 2–6 (pl. III, 3–12), though the physiognomy of the horses on IX. 1–2, XXII. 1, and the corresponding quarter-stater in B.M. (pl. III, 1, 2, 13), is much closer to Dubnovellaunus than that on the common staters.

[8] Mommsen, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, 1883, p. 135 f., chap. xxxii. Evans's version of the inscription is inaccurate. See also Sandys, *Num. Chron.*, 1918, p. 97.

[9] Evans XI. 2–3, 5, 7–8, 9, 12–13, XXII. 12, XII. 12, and perhaps 7 (pl. III, 14, 23, 24, 29), are victory types. XII. 3 (pl. III, 30) is a fine example of a warrior type.

Epaticcus

(See Map V; pl. I, 26-7)

Beyond the south-west borders of Cunobelinus' kingdom, mostly south of the Thames in Berkshire, Hampshire, and Sussex, are found a series of coins bearing the name of Epaticcus.[1] He describes himself on them as the son of Tasciovanus, and was consequently Cunobelinus' brother. There are a single type of stater (pl. I, 26)[2] and two silver types (pl. I, 27),[3] one of which is of the minim size. We thus find a member of the dynasty of Tasciovanus installed in the territory of the Atrebates, which was part of the inheritance of the dynasty of Commius.

Various explanations have been offered for the presence of Epaticcus in this region, of which the most recent is that he was a wanderer in search of a kingdom, driven out by his more powerful brother.[4] None, however, allow for a fact which the coins prove, that the career of Epaticcus belongs to a period not earlier than the middle of Cunobelinus' reign. On the obverse the staters of Epaticcus have an ear of corn such as is found on the coins of Cunobelinus. It is possible from the die combinations to prove beyond doubt the order of most of Cunobelinus' staters, an order which gives us a clue to the date of Epaticcus.

On the earliest group the ear of corn is represented without a stalk up the centre. The style of the coins has traces of the barbaric and the horse is clumsily constructed (pl. III, 3).[5] These are followed by a group on which the ear of corn is represented with a stalk and the stem is often decorated with some Celtic scroll work. The horse on these is a spirited representation in high relief (pl. III, 5, 6; pl. III, 4, provides a link).[6] There are other groups which cannot be arranged with the same certainty, but one of them at any rate seems to be later than the first two groups, for the ear of corn is always divided

[1] The fullest legend on the coins is *Epaticcu*. Other British coin legends end in V, *Aesu*, *Saemu*, and *Eisu* (see pp. 39, 42), and it is not likely in any of these cases that we should supply a final S, any more than we should in the case of the legend *Camu*. One coin of Tasciovanus, however (Evans V. 7), reads TAS?CIOVAN which may be interpreted as *Tasciovanu*; this is poor authority for adding a final S to Epaticcu, and it may be wrong to do so. The readings IVLIV and AHIRTIV on Gaulish coins, given by Blanchet, *op. cit.*, pp. 122-4, may be due to faulty coins. Compare also SOLIDV (Evans XI. 6, pl. III, 21), which is usually completed as Solidunum.

[2] Evans VIII. 12.

[3] *Ibid.*, VIII. 13-14; the minim is now lost, but there is an electrotype of it in the B.M., unpublished.

[4] Brooke, *Antiquity*, p. 286.

[5] Evans IX. 5, XXII. 4-5 (pl. III, 3). XXII. 2-3 (pl. III, 12) probably belongs to the same period.

[6] *Ibid.*, IX. 4 (pl. III, 5). IX. 3 (pl. III, 6) probably belongs to the same period. Pl. III, 4 is a 'mule' coin combining the obverse type of pl. III, 3 with the reverse type of pl. III, 5. Both dies are known in their true combinations. The wear of the dies proves that this order is correct.

by the stalk. The types here, however, are treated in a more stylized manner, and on a few the horse wears a halter (pl. III, 7, 8).[1] A fourth group contains coins in a style which is little removed from barbarous, and it is uncertain at which end of the reign they should be placed, if indeed they are not contemporary copies made in other parts of the kingdom (pl. III, 9–11).[2]

The ear of corn on the staters of Epaticcus is precisely similar to that on the second group of Cunobelinus (pl. III, 5, 6). The stalk divides the ear, and the stem is decorated with Celtic scrolls. It is not likely that these coins were made earlier than the corresponding coins of Cunobelinus, and we may, therefore, place the career of Epaticcus not earlier than the middle of his brother's reign, well into the second quarter of I A.D.[3]

Although the obverse of Epaticcus' staters belongs to the Catuvellaunian tradition, the naked horseman on the reverse is more akin to the types of the southern kingdom, especially to the later coins of Verica.[4] As we have seen, coins of the two kings have been found together at Alresford, and there can be no doubt that Epaticcus was a late contemporary of Verica.[5] Other features of Epaticcus' coins connect him with the south. The use of a silver minim combined with the absence of a bronze coinage is known only here,[6] and the eagle on the reverse of his main silver issue is very similar to that on a coin of Tincommius.[7]

We thus have at the same time and from the same district the coins of rival dynasties, on each of which is prominently placed the tribal symbol, an ear of corn or a vine leaf.[8] These competitive coinages probably reflect a political conflict. By the latter part of Verica's reign Cunobelinus had occupied all the lands north of the Thames in which Belgic culture was at all advanced; in the south-east he had also made himself master of Kent. It was natural that his ambition should turn to the south-west, where, under the dynasty of Commius, lay the only remaining centre of Belgic culture in Britain. But

[1] Evans IX. 8–9, XXII. 6 (pl. III, 7–8).

[2] *Ibid.*, IX. 6–7, 10 (pl. III, 9, 10, 11).

[3] Evans tried to place the career of Epaticcus much earlier than this on the basis of a denarius of Tiberius found with coins of his in Savernake Forest (p. 282). The coin, which is now in the B.M., was dated by him to A.D. 15, but Mr. Mattingly tells me that *c.* A.D. 25-30 is more nearly correct. It is in very worn condition, and this tends to confirm the chronology suggested above.

[4] Cf. Evans II. 9–10, XIX. 3, 5–6 (pl. I, 17, 20, 21).

[5] See p. 10, n. 7.

[6] The minims are quarters of the regular silver denomination of Britain, which was roughly equivalent to a quinarius. Amongst the Iceni and the Brigantes a half denomination of silver is used.

[7] *Ibid.*, XIX. 1 (pl. I, 12).

[8] Leeds, *Celtic Ornament*, p. 71, has suggested that the vine leaf was copied from the olive branches on certain denarii of Augustus ascribed by Grueber to Gaul, but by Mr. Mattingly to Spain (*B.M.C. Rom. Imp. Coins*, pl. 7, nos. 5–8). Though possibly suggested by these, it has become a vine leaf on the coins of Verica in the same way that the wreath of Apollo has become an ear of corn on the coins of Cunobelinus.

even if the conquest of this, his most formidable rival, were possible, the district was far away from his capital and relatively inaccessible. Communications would have been difficult and control impossible. The alternative was to set up there a puppet kingdom under someone he could trust. The career of Epaticcus can be interpreted as an attempt by Cunobelinus to dominate the southern tribes through his brother, an attempt which, to judge from the rarity of his coins, failed. They are widely spread amongst the Atrebates, and he may have had a temporary success there, but it cannot have lasted long.

Caratacus

(See Map V; pl. 1, 28)

There is a hint, but no more, that Cunobelinus did not accept this defeat. The regular silver coins of Epaticcus have on one side a head of Hercules (a symbol of the giant labour of the southern expedition?), and on the other an eagle with a snake in its talons (a symbol of the eagle Cunobelinus crushing the snake Verica?) (pl. 1, 27).[1] A unique silver coin of identical type, found near Guildford, reads CARA instead of EPATI (pl. 1, 28).[2] Argument has raged whether these letters could stand for Caratacus, the most famous of the sons of Cunobelinus.

We first hear of Caratacus in A.D. 43, when he led the first British army against Aulus Plautius.[3] After the defeat of his own army and that of his brother Togodumnus he fled to Wales. We find him later amongst the Silures in South Wales as leader of the opposition to the Romans.[4] Finally in A.D. 50 he fled to Cartimandua, Queen of the Brigantes, who betrayed him to the Romans. We last hear of him as a captive in Rome itself.[5]

Evans, believing the date of Epaticcus to be much earlier than we have suggested,[6] found it difficult to identify the Cara.... of the coin with the Caratacus of history. He thought that since the coin so resembled those of Epaticcus, the name should be that of another son of Tasciovanus, an earlier Caratacus after whom the later Caratacus was named.[7] However, the later date for Epaticcus, which is as certain as any fact in this period can be, makes this addition to the pedigree of the Catuvellaunian dynasty unnecessary. We have a ruler with the name of Cara.... striking a coin of identical type with those of a brother of Cunobelinus in the same part of the country, not earlier than the middle of the reign of Cunobelinus. We have also a son of Cunobelinus named Caratacus, who in A.D. 43 was old enough to lead the main British army against the Romans. There is no longer any chronological

[1] Evans VIII. 13-14 (pl. 1, 27).
[2] *Ibid.*, XX. 8 (pl. 1, 28).
[3] Dion Cassius, lx, 20.
[4] Tacitus, *Annals*, xii, 33-40.
[5] Dion Cassius, Excerpta xc (*Mon. Hist. Brit.*, xcv).
[6] See p. 25, n. 3.
[7] Evans, p. 554.

difficulty in identifying the two, and it is hard to resist the conclusion that they are one and the same person.

We have already seen that it is possible to interpret the career of Epaticcus as an unsuccessful attempt by Cunobelinus to spread the dominion of his family to the southern kingdom. We can add now that where his brother had failed, Cunobelinus may have sent his son, then a young man, ready to win his spurs, to complete the task. Such a theory must always remain conjectural, but it fits such meagre evidence as survives.

Cunobelinus (continued)

If we are right in assuming that coin distribution is evidence of political domination, the tribe of the Cantii must have fallen into the hands of Cunobelinus. His coins are widely distributed in Kent, not only in the coastal area, but also in the plateau behind. Here, too, he must have come into conflict with a member of the dynasty of Commius, Eppillus, whose brief rule at Calleva Atrebatum we have already noticed.[1] With the history of Kent we shall deal later,[2] but one must anticipate here by saying that in the first quarter of I A.D. Eppillus, driven from Calleva, seems to have conquered the coastal strip of Kent east of the Medway. The types of his coins are fairly numerous and contain several figures of Victory.[3] His coins are never found in the districts inland, where the earliest inscribed coinage is that of Cunobelinus. Ultimately he fell before Cunobelinus, who, not content with the coastal territory, proceeded to reduce the hill forts inland. When this happened is not certain, but the number of Cunobelinus' coins found in Kent suggests that the district must have come under his sway many years before his death.

The most striking fact about Cunobelinus' coins as a whole is their variety both in subject and in skill. We have already seen the sequence of gold types; a similar sequence can be followed roughly in the silver and the bronze by a study of the lettering and legends. The first group consists of coins which, though not directly descended from them, belong to the same phase of art as those of Tasciovanus (pl. III, 14–16, 22–7).[4] The heads,[5] the figures,[6] the horsemen,[7] the animals,[8] are all wholly un-Roman. They are generally of a crude and inartistic style in which the Celtic sense of pattern has been forgotten and the Roman technique not yet learned; but there are exceptions which

[1] See p. 7.
[2] See p. 29.
[3] Evans III. 11, 14, XIII. 6 (pl. I, 38, 41). See p. 34, n. 3.
[4] See p. 22, n. 2.
[5] *Ibid.*, XI. 2–3 (pl. III, 14), 11, and an unpublished bronze type from Colchester.
[6] *Ibid.*, XI. 2–3 (pl. III, 14), 5, 7–8 (pl. III, 23), 12–13 (pl. III, 24), XXII. 12.
[7] *Ibid.*, X. 1–3.
[8] *Ibid.*, X. 4? (pl. III, 15), 14? (pl. III, 16), XI. 10–13 (pl. III, 24, 26), XXII. 12, 14, unpublished silver and bronze types from Colchester.

recall the coins of Dubnovellaunus in Essex (e.g. pl. III, 25).[1] These coins may belong to a period when Cunobelinus' kingdom was still confined to Camulodunum and the surrounding districts. Many of them have the *Camul* signature in some form, and there is more than one Victory type.

In the second phase the *Camul* signature is generally dropped and replaced by the name of Tasciovanus. These coins are of bold design and in high relief, and are engraved with the greatest skill (pl. III, 17–20, 28–34).[2] In some cases the designs have been copied from Roman coins,[3] and in all a familiarity with Roman fashions is displayed. But here, as in the case of Tasciovanus, it is unfair to dismiss them as mere copies; in no case is a type copied without adaptation, and many show an un-Roman mythology of which we are otherwise wholly ignorant.[4] These types reflect a cultural tradition of which no other trace has survived, for, had these types stood alone,[5] they would have been unintelligible to those who used them. Though the coins owe much to Rome, they have a Celtic element in their design. They belong presumably to the period of Cunobelinus' expansion, and illustrate vividly the progress made under his 'radiant' influence.

The third phase is one of decline. There are few silver and bronze coins we can assign to it with certainty; though some more may lurk amongst those given to the first phase, few may have been struck in it (pl. III, 21, 35).[6] There is a reversion to un-Roman types, and the realism of the second phase is replaced by a neat and stereotyped style. The fire of the earlier phase has consumed itself.

Though the three 'phases' may simply reflect the skill of three different engravers, their careers no doubt represent the tendencies of the time. Anyhow we have some confirmation of the decline implied in the last phase during the few years between the death of Cunobelinus and the Roman conquest. We know from Dion Cassius that after the death of Cunobelinus the kingdom was divided between his sons Caratacus and Togodumnus; but no coins have been found from the heart of the kingdom bearing either of these names.[7] It is fair

[1] e.g. Evans XII. 8=XXII. 11 (pl. III, 25), probably of this class.

[2] *Ibid.*, XI. 1, X. 7–13 (pl. III, 17–20), XII. 1–3, 5–7, 13–14, XIII. 1–2 (pl. III, 28–34).

[3] *Ibid.*, XII. 14, XIII. 1–2 (pl. III, 33, 34).

[4] e.g. *ibid.*, X. 12–13 (pl. III, 18), the hunter who bears a stag on his shoulder or walks with it by his side; X. 11 (pl. III, 17), the lady who rides side-saddle on an animal which is neither a bull nor a lion nor a tiger!

[5] See, however, p. 19, n. 2.

[6] *Ibid.*, X. 5, 4? (pl. III, 15), 14? (pl. III, 16), XXII. 8?, 9?, XII. 10 (pl. III, 35), XXII. 13. Perhaps XI. 6 (pl. XX, 21), the silver coin reading SOLIDV belongs to this group. Solidu.. has been interpreted as an abbreviation of Solidunum, the presumed name of another mint, but this is conjectural. There is no other evidence for a second mint; all the gold coins bear the signature of Camulodunum.

[7] The coin of Caratacus, p. 26, is to be connected with the Atrebates before the death of Cunobelinus. The supposed coinage of Cunobelinus' third son Adminius, p. 35, n. 1, is undatable.

to suppose that none even existed, and we may suspect that in the latter years of Cunobelinus the coinage was declining.

Summary of the dynasty of Tasciovanus

The dynasty of the Catuvellauni had a career in many ways akin to that of the southern kingdom under the sons of Commius. In each over a period of two reigns we can trace a development from native to Roman fashions in all forms of culture. This progress is so similar that it must cover the same period of time in both, and the influence which brought the culture of Rome to one must also have brought it to the other. Here, however, the resemblance ends. The southern kingdom, safe behind the Weald, had a comparatively unadventurous history, and assimilated in an unimaginative way the manners of Rome. The Catuvellauni, faced with sterner battles and inspired by more ambitious designs, maintained a Celtic spirit throughout. Amongst them the Belgic aristocracy did not forget its partial Celtic origin, even when it adopted Roman manners, and here, for perhaps the only time in British history, Roman and native elements combined to produce a lively and vigorous art. Professor Collingwood has shown how foreign to the Celtic artist with his passion for pure design was the figured art of Rome.[1] Though this is true, no doubt, of the original stock of Britain, the invading Belgic aristocracy had not the same background, and adapted with more understanding the Roman models.

(iii) The Cantii

(See Map VI; pl. 1, 29–44)

The territory of the Cantii corresponded roughly with the modern Kent.[2] The inhabited part in this period fell into two areas. The first consisted of a narrow band of lowland beside the coast, itself divided into two by the Medway. The second consisted of the low hills of the greensand belt farther inland. These divisions may have belonged to different tribes linked under the general name of the Cantii. Caesar mentions four kings from the region, which he regarded as the most civilized part of Britain. His general statement that the inhabitants of Britain were not indigenous but had come from Gaul and bore Gaulish names, probably applies to this district, as well as his distinction between the customs of the coastal and the inland tribes.[3]

[1] Collingwood and Myres, *Roman Britain*, pp. 251–3.
[2] J. Ward Perkins, *Archaeologia Cantiana*, li, 1940, pp. 138–42.
[3] Caesar, *B. G.*, v, 12, 1, and 14, 1–2.

Dubnovellaunus in Kent

(See Map VI; pl. 1, 29–34)

The uninscribed coinage of Kent is not plentiful and is confined to the hills of the greensand belt, where it had a long life.[1] The first coinage found

Map VI. The Cantii

D = Dubnovellaunus in Kent (D) = uninscribed coins attributed to Dubnovellaunus
V = Vose... S = Sa... E = Eppillus in Kent

in the coastlands, however, is inscribed with the name of Dubnovellaunus,[2] whom we have already met as the predecessor of Cunobelinus amongst the Trinovantes at Camulodunum (pl. 1, 29–34).[3] It is only found in the area east of the Medway, while on the other side of the river are only found the coins of Tasciovanus. The Medway thus clearly formed the western frontier of the kingdom held by Dubnovellaunus south of the Thames. His coins here are of gold,[4]

[1] Mostly worn and clipped specimens of A 1–8 and B 8 (imported coins), but also a few of B 12 and an unpublished type from near Sittingbourne.

[2] For the form of the name, see p. 42, n. 11.

[3] See p. 23.

[4] *B.M. Quart.*, x, pl. xxxv, 5 (pl. 1, 31); Evans IV. 10 (pl. 1, 29), staters. Two specimens of the first are in the B.M., but no find-spots are known. They are unlike the regular staters but seem to be Kentish. Evans E 14, and 13 (pl. 1, 30), uninscribed quarter-staters, should probably be attributed to Dubnovellaunus.

silver,[1] and bronze,[2] and the types are different from and more numerous than those found in Essex. The staters[3] are uniface and have entirely dropped the Apollo pattern; the horse on the reverse is, however, a Celtic animal with a *bucranium* above its back (pl. I, 29). Though the style is very different, they thus form a close parallel with the early coins of Tasciovanus, on which a *bucranium* occupies the same position (pl. II, 3, 4). The crude lettering is also similar. The form II often occurs for E and Ƨ for S. The termination is always in the form OS. It is impossible to say whether either coinage is imitated from the other, but they must go closely together in date. The silver (pl. I, 32–3) and bronze coins (pl. I, 34) of Dubnovellaunus resemble those of Tasciovanus in similar respects.

We have a clue to the date of Dubnovellaunus in the *Monumentum Ancyranum* (A.D. 14), where he is mentioned beside Tincommius as a suppliant king.[4] Though this gives only a rough indication that both were contemporaries of Augustus, we may go further and suggest that they were contemporaries of each other. As we have seen, the coinage indicates that Tasciovanus belonged to the same period and we may, therefore, place the reigns of all three in the last quarter of I B.C. and the early years of I A.D.

What little we know of Dubnovellaunus shows him to have had an exciting career, though we cannot piece the details of it together with certainty. His main kingdom lay in Kent, but at some time he conquered the tribe of the Trinovantes north of the Thames Estuary. The lettering of his staters there suggests that they begin later than the Kentish series. Both the form E and the termination -VS occur on them.[5] Nevertheless, the similarity of the bronze types on each side of the river suggests that some of the issues were simultaneous. From Camulodunum and Essex he was expelled by Cunobelinus, and at about the same time he seems to have been replaced in Kent by a ruler named Vose... Either event may have provided occasion for his appeal to Rome.

His coins display a particularly high technical skill, which is the more remarkable because the Roman influence on them is negligible. The figures and animals are purely Celtic in conception and are perhaps truer examples of Celtic art than the corresponding coins of Tasciovanus.[6] They should also be

[1] Evans, F 15, proved by a specimen in Mr. R. C. Lockett's collection to read DVBN; and XX. 7 (pl. I, 32). IV. 11 might be of Essex (pl. I, 33).

[2] *Ibid.*, IV. 12, p. 528, XIII. 5; the last of these is now known to read DVBNOV (see pl. I, 34).

[3] i.e. *ibid.*, IV. 10 (pl. I, 29). For the object beneath the horse on both types of stater see p. 32, n. 5.

[4] Mommsen, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, 1883, p. 135 f. Evans's version of the inscription is inaccurate. See also Sandys, *Num. Chron.*, 1918, p. 97.

[5] Evans IV. 7, etc.

[6] In some cases the coins of Dubnovellaunus seem to anticipate the types of Cunobelinus,

compared with the coins of Aððedomarus in Essex,[1] whose reign must have in part coincided with that of Dubnovellaunus in Kent. The contrast between them illustrates the different achievements of a Belgic and a non-Belgic tribe. The pre-eminence in the arts which the coins of Kent show, a relic perhaps of the conditions noticed by Caesar, soon shifted to the Catuvellauni north of the Thames. The conquest of Essex by Dubnovellaunus may have been the first step in bringing it there.

Vose...

(See Map VI; pl. 1, 35–7)

The coins do not give a clear picture of what happened in Kent after the disappearance of Dubnovellaunus. In precisely the same area of Kent are found staters, quarter-staters, and bronze coins linked together by the use of a characteristic horse with a single enlarged nostril, which all bear different legends (pl. 1, 35, 36, 37).[2] That on the staters is uncertain, while on the quarter-staters it is VOSII (= Vose...);[3] on the bronze it is SA (= Sa...).[4] On the staters there is a *bucranium* above the horse's back, which links them with Dubnovellaunus; there is also a strange serpent-like object beneath the horse which seems to have grown out of a misinterpreted device on Dubnovellaunus' coins.[5] It is likely, therefore, that these coins follow those of Dubnovellaunus in the same region. This comparative lateness is confirmed not only by the similarity of the horse to the later Essex staters of Dubnovellaunus, but by a surer indication, the use of a marked beaded circle.

We can only guess at the political conditions which this unusual series must represent. The variety of names may mean a variety of rulers, but in any case the period cannot have lasted long. These coins display the latest development of Celtic art in the Belgic areas, a phase wholly unaffected by

although their style is close to that of Tasciovanus. Thus Evans XX. 7 (pl. 1, 32) reverse seems to be a Celtic version of the same theme as Cunobelinus' XII. 6 (pl. III, 31) reverse; XIII. 5 (pl. 1, 34) obverse (poorly illustrated by Evans) as Cunobelinus' XIII. 1 (pl. III, 33), even to the tree in the background.

[1] Evans XIV. 1–9 (pl. II, 33–8). See above, p. 15.

[2] *Ibid.*, IV. 13 (pl. 1, 35). Evans read the legend ...NOS and joined this to the legend of the quarter-stater giving the result VOSENOS. His reading is undoubtedly wrong, but it is impossible as yet to give the right one.

[3] *Ibid.*, IV. 14 (pl. 1, 36).

[4] *Ibid.*, XIII. 12. The legend can be read on a coin in the B.M. from the Carlyon-Britton Sale, lot 103 (pl. 1, 37). The presence of this legend on bronze coins should be compared with the use of the legend RVIIS on bronze coins presumed to be of Tasciovanus. See above, p. 18.

[5] This object may be a goat-headed serpent; it appears not only here (pl. 1, 35) but on the coins of Dubnovellaunus (Evans IV. 10 and *B.M. Quart.*, x, pl. xxxv, 5; pl. 1, 29–31), Tasciovanus probably (V. 8–9, pl. II, 3–4), Cunobelinus (XXII. 14 and also an unpublished silver coin from Colchester), and on the uninscribed coin N 7. It is peculiar to British coins.

Roman influence. They inherit the technical skill of Dubnovellaunus, but do not use it to the same advantage.

Eppillus in Kent

(See Map VI; pl. 1, 38–44)

The insecure state of affairs in Kent which these coins imply may have opened the way for the next phase in the history of the Cantii, the conquest by Eppillus. We have already noted the short reign of Eppillus at Calleva amongst the Atrebates, somewhere about the beginning of I A.D.,[1] and seen that he probably lost his throne to his brother Verica. By far the majority of the coins in all metals bearing his name have been found in Kent in precisely the same area as those of Dubnovellaunus and Vose....

Though there has hitherto been general agreement about the date of Dubnovellaunus, it has never been determined whether Eppillus preceded or succeeded him. Both Evans and Brooke were inclined to think that Eppillus came first, influenced mostly by the fact that he describes himself as a son of Commius.[2] There were also the facts that one of his types bears traces of the Apollo pattern[3] and that others imitate the Lugdunum issue of Augustus (15–12 B.C.) (pl. 1, 43–4),[4] facts which seemed to imply an early date. On the other hand, Verica, another son of Commius, was probably reigning as late as the Claudian conquest;[5] we know that the Apollo pattern survived into the reign of Cunobelinus north of the Thames, while the use of the Lugdunum types is at most a *terminus post quem*. Another Augustan type, the capricorn, is used, but this is open to the same objection (pl. 1, 42).[6]

There is, however, positive evidence of a comparatively late date from the coins themselves.[7] The epigraphy is of the full Roman style with, for instance, the letter E instead of II, and the legends are placed where they can be read upon the coins. The use of the beaded circle is universal. There can be no

[1] See p. 7. [2] Evans, pp. 189, 202. Brooke, *Antiquity*, p. 288.

[3] Evans III. 13. The find-spot of this unique quarter-stater is not known. As it is not very like the other known Kentish coins, it perhaps came from the Calleva mint. The same is true of III. 8, a quarter-stater, and of XX. 5, a silver coin.

[4] *Ibid.*, IV. 2-3, 5, XX. 6 (pl. 1, 43–4), copied from *B.M.C. Rom. Imp. Coins*, vol. i, nos. 561–3 and 564, or 450 ff.

[5] See p. 9.

[6] *Ibid.*, III. 7=XX. 2 (pl. 1, 42), copied from *B.M.C. Rom. Imp. Coins*, vol. i, nos. 465–6.

[7] Evans believed that some of the silver coins of Eppillus bore the legend VIRCO or TI VC in addition to the name Eppillus, and suggested that these were alliance coins with the names of two or three of the brothers, as the case might be. It is now certain that the legend VIRCO is due to an eighteenth-century forgery and the legend TIVC to an uncleaned coin. Both types (Evans III. 7= XX. 2 and III. 14, pl. 1, 41–2) read IOVIR, an unexplained legend. The theory of a joint coinage must, therefore, be abandoned.

question that these characteristics belong to the later phases of British coins, and they are not present on the coins of Dubnovellaunus. Further, the horse on Eppillus' staters (pl. 1, 38, 39)[1] is the precise counterpart of that on Verica's coins (pl. 1, 16, 17). If our dating of Verica is correct, the date of Epp llus in Kent must surely lie well into I A.D. This is also consistent with the evidence of the Ancyra monument, which brackets together his predecessors in east and west, Tincommius and Dubnovellaunus.[2] Though indirect, this evidence does not seem open to doubt, and we must consequently regard Eppillus as some years later than Dubnovellaunus.

We have seen Eppillus as an unsuccessful innovator at Calleva, turned out by his less go-ahead brother. His adventurous spirit again appears in the conquest of Kent, which is recorded no doubt by his three Victory types (e.g. pl. 1, 38, 41).[3] His coins are never found west of the Medway frontier, where his kingdom, like that of his predecessors, adjoined an offshoot of the Catuvellauni, but it did not extend to the hills inside the coastal belt. Thus, with the exception of the Medway-Darent sector, the conquest of Kent brought the whole of the Belgic lands south of the Thames under the rule of the sons of Commius. Eppillus may have stood in much the same political relationship to Verica as did Epaticcus to Cunobelinus.

The reign of Eppillus completely altered the character of the Kentish coinage. Hitherto, whether or not the rulers had been indigenous, the character of the coins had been essentially Celtic. From now on the Cantii came within the Romanizing influence of the dynasty of Commius.[4] There is a sudden and complete severance from tradition, and the types become predominantly Roman. They often display, however, a certain gaucherie, due, as elsewhere in the southern kingdom, to an incomplete assimilation of their Roman models. The ease with which this total rupture took place serves to illuminate how exclusively the art of the Belgae belonged to the invading aristocracies. Had its roots been more deeply embedded in the soil, changes so radical must have come in slower stages. The immediate and overwhelming propagation of Roman art after the conquest was largely due to the fact that Belgic art was only skin-deep. An invading army could even bring a new art with it.

[1] Evans III. 9–10, cf. II. 11 (pl. 1, 39, cf. 1, 16); III. 11, cf. II. 10 (pl. 1, 39, cf. 1, 17); III. 12 (pl. 1, 40), cf. III. 1–2; but IV. 4 and XX. 4 are akin to Tasciovanus.

[2] See pp. 6, 30.

[3] *Ibid.*, III. 11, 14, XIII. 6 (pl. 1, 38, 41). The attribution of XIII. 6 to Eppillus has been proved by the discovery of a fine specimen at Leicester. III. 14 seems to be a male Victory.

[4] Eppillus in Kent uses bronze coins (pl. 1, 43–4) and not silver minims, his only concession to established Kentish practice. This suggests that the bronze coin of standard weight (about 40 grains) was the equivalent of one silver minim, or the fourth part of a normal silver coin (about 20 grains) in currency value.

Eppillus was an adventurer and soon met an adventurer's end. Before long his kingdom was swept away before the advance of Cunobelinus, whom the coins show to have dominated not only the territory of Eppillus, but the native populations of the hills inland. With Cunobelinus the story of pre-Roman Kent ends.[1]

Summary of the Cantii

The history of the Cantii is interesting because it forms a link between the main Belgic dynasties north and south of the Thames. In its earlier and more vigorous phases it was related culturally to the northern kingdom; it maintained the civilization which Caesar records. In the second phase it passed under the influence of the southern kingdom, an alien domination which marks the beginning of a decline. Finally it was engulfed as an outlying province in the empire of Cunobelinus. The gradually decreasing prosperity, which this story implies, is borne out by what little archaeological evidence there is.[2]

We have now covered the three main regions of Belgic civilization in Britain, and must turn to the tribes on their outskirts, where the humanizing influence of the Belgae had scarcely penetrated. We know far less of these tribes from historical sources than we do of those already described, and the monotonous repetition of types makes the coins far less informative. We can, therefore, deal with them more briefly.

B. THE NON-BELGIC TRIBES

(i) The Durotriges

(See Map VII; pl. IV, 1–4)

The Durotriges, with their Roman capital at Durnovaria (Dorchester), lay to the west of the kingdom of Commius and his sons. Their coins show the Hampshire Avon as their eastern and the Ebble or Nadder as their northern frontiers. Thus they did not share a common frontier with the Atrebates and

[1] It has been suggested on very dubious evidence that two silver and one bronze coin should be attributed to Adminius, one of the sons of Cunobelinus, in Kent (see above, p. 20), who was expelled by his father from Britain about A.D. 40. The only find-spot recorded is that of the bronze coin in Kent. It is supposed that at some time during the reign of Cunobelinus Adminius may have ruled there. However, it is not certain that the silver piece (Evans V. 1) reading AMMINVS or AMMIDVS –DVN belongs to the same ruler as the others for it is of a very different style; while the silver and bronze pieces reading Λ M, which certainly form a pair (Evans XIII. 7 and V. 2), are in appearance more akin to Tasciovanus than to Cunobelinus, a fact which seems to place them too early for this identification. The find-spot of the *Amminus* coin is not known. It might be a coin of Adminius, but there is no reason to connect it with Kent.

[2] J. Ward Perkins, *Archaeologia Cantiana*, li, 1940 ('Report on Excavations at Oldbury')—a fuller account appears in the present volume of *Archaeologia*, pp. 127–76.

Regni nor with the dependencies of these two tribes. Between the Avon and the Test there lay nameless tribes which later formed part of the Roman canton of the Belgae, but at this time were under the influence of the Durotriges. The Salisbury plain area between the Durotriges and the Dobuni to the north is singularly devoid of coins.

An extensive coinage is found amongst the Durotriges, especially in the

Map VII. The Durotriges, the Dobuni, and the Iceni

X = Durotriges uninscribed, all metals
CR = Crab ... } Durotriges

D = Dobuni uninscribed, all metals

A = Ante⊗rig...
CO = Comux...
E = Eisu...
V = Corio...
CA = Catti...
B = Bodvoc... } Dobuni

I = Iceni, uninscribed
EC = Ecen..., Ece...
N = Ante⊗...
ED = Ed...
SA = Saemu... } Iceni

○ = a hoard □ = a prolific area Ⓓ ▣ and Ⓘ ▣ include inscribed coins

Cranborne Chase region. It consists almost entirely of base-metal copies of uninscribed gold coins which had circulated in other parts of Britain (pl. IV, 1–3).[1]

[1] Evans F 1-3 (pl. IV, 1), G 5-6, M 13-14 (pl. IV, 2); other varieties in Bushe Fox, *Hengistbury Head Report, 1912–13*, p. 67, pl. XXXII, 19-23, and Hill, *Num. Chron.*, 1911, p. 42 f. (pl. IV, 3). The early staters, Evans B 5, probably also belong to this tribe and are included as such in Map VII.

These copies continued in circulation well into II A.D.[1] and were struck at the same time as the inscribed coinages of the Belgic tribes. These miserable coins are symptomatic of the lost vitality of the Celtic peoples outside the main area of Belgic influence.

There are, however, two silver pieces from this area, one of them a minim, which bear the legend CRAB... The larger was found at Portsmouth (pl. IV, 4),[2] the other near Blandford.[3] They are both unusual coins, and there is a possibility that they preserve the name of a ruler of the Durotriges. Their style suggests a date not earlier than the latter part of Tincommius' reign. The use of a silver minim is otherwise confined to the southern kingdom.

(ii) The Dobuni

(See Map VII; pl. IV, 5–18)

North of the Durotriges, on the west of the Catuvellauni, lay the Dobuni. Their frontiers seem to have been on the south the Kennet or the Brue and the Avon, on the east the Thames and the Cherwell, and on the west the Wye. Their capital under Roman rule lay at Corinium (Cirencester).

In this area is found a plentiful coinage in gold and silver, at first uninscribed[4] (pl. IV, 6, 7) and later inscribed (pl. IV, 8–18). Distribution maps show that coinage reached them not from their neighbours, the Catuvellauni, but up the Test and the Thames from the southern kingdom. Their staters are thus modelled on the same type as those of Commius (pl. IV, 5).[5] The precise parentage of their silver coins is uncertain, but seems to be Gaulish. They no doubt had connexions with Gaul along the same route. By the time their own coinage had developed, however, the distribution maps show that their outlet to the south had changed, and that communications now took place along the line of the Stour, through the heart of the Durotriges country.

The inscribed coins of this area follow a stereotyped pattern on both sides, which neither time nor considerations of art were able to modify. The variations are with one exception minute, but they are sufficient to suggest the following order of names: ANTEÐRIG, EISV, CATTI, COMVX, CORIO, BODVOC. Of all these there are staters (pl. IV, 8, 9, 11, 13, 14, 15, 17);[6] the first two are linked by the additional use of silver coins descended from the uninscribed type (pl. IV,

[1] See Hill, *op. cit.*; found with Roman Coins down to Hadrian (A.D. 117–38) in the 'South Hants' find; for the date *ante quem*, see Wheeler, *Maiden Castle* (Soc. Antiq., Lond., 1943).

[2] Evans V. 3 (pl. IV, 4).

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 214; see also p. 212.

[4] *Ibid.*, C 4, F 4–9 (pl. IV, 6, 7).

[5] *Ibid.*, B 9–10 (pl. IV, 5).

[6] *Ibid.*, I. 7, XVIII. 1 (pl. IV, 8, 9); XVIII. 3–4 (pl. IV, 11); I. 4 (pl. IV, 13); I. 5 (pl. IV, 14); I. 6 (pl. IV, 15); I. 1–2 (pl. IV, 17). On all except the last is a 'fern-like' object which may be derived from the ear of corn on coins of Cunobelinus. A similar object, however, occurs on the reverse of the Gaulish staters, Muret-De la Tour, 9000–4. Many of the staters of Anteðrig... appear to be base.

10, 12).[1] Of Corio... there is a quarter-stater (pl. IV, 16).[2] The Bodvoc coins introduce modifications; the legend is now placed on the obverse and a silver type of original design is introduced (pl. IV, 18).[3] There is no doubt that this name ends the series. Analogy would suggest that these are the names of rulers, not of tribes, although the name Corio... recalls Corinum. The distribution does not support any apportionment of them to different areas. It seems, therefore, that in these names we have a sequence of native rulers about whom there is little to be conjectured.

The date of the series can be told roughly from the hoards in which they have been found. At Wichwood Forest a coin of Anteðrig... was found associated with Roman coins as late as A.D. 71–9 (Vespasian)[4] and at Hengistbury Head the numerous inscribed silver coins of Anteðrig... and Eisu... were found in late I A.D. contexts.[5] The bold and legible lettering, especially of the Bodvoc coins, suggests a relatively late date, and it is unlikely that the series began before I A.D. The end of striking, though not of circulation, must be given by the Roman conquest of this area before A.D. 47.

Although the use of coinage at all was a Belgic innovation in Britain, the traditional types of the Dobuni suggest a conscious effort to resist the further advance of the Belgae. This may be seen also in the transference of the trade route from Belgic to non-Belgic territory. Evans has suggested that we should see in Anteðrig...[6] of the Dobunic series the same person as the Anteð... on some of the Icenian coins, to be discussed below.[7] Certainly there is no chronological difficulty in this, and it is supported by the similar monograms of the names (ANED and AED) which are used on staters in both tribes (pl. IV, 9 and 25).[8] If this is correct, we should see in Anteðrig... the organizer of an anti-Belgic front to east and west of the kingdom of Cunobelinus early in I A.D.;[9] his career would then be comparable with that of Caratacus a generation later, who rallied the Welsh tribes in a similar effort against the Romans.[10]

[1] Evans I. 8; I. 9 (pl. IV, 10, 12).

[2] Unpublished in B.M.; it reads COR (pl. IV, 16). The legend of the staters was given by Evans as VOCORIOAD, but, as the quarter-stater shows, the first two letters have been invented out of ornaments in the field, and this is probably true also of the last two.

[3] *Ibid.*, I. 3 (pl. IV, 18).

[4] *Num. Chron.*, 1863, p. 145. At Nunney they were probably found with a coin of Caligula.

[5] Bushe Fox, *Hengistbury Excavation Report, 1911–12*, p. 68. More were found than are mentioned in the report, having been identified since.

[6] The spelling Antedrig and Anteðrig are both found. Both Ð and ð are used.

[7] See p. 40.

[8] Evans XVIII. 1, 2, p. 490 f. (pl. IV, 9 and 25).

[9] But cf. Tacitus, *Agricola*, xii, 2: 'Rarus duabus tribusve civitatibus ad propulsandum commune periculum conventus'.

[10] Though, as Mr. Hawkes points out to me, he did not rally the Dobuni, 'who remained anti-Belgic and so pro-Roman', but the Silures beyond.

(iii) The Iceni

(See Map VII; pl. IV, 19–33)

The Iceni, with their Roman capital at Venta Icenorum (Caister-next-Norwich), inhabited what are now the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk together with the South Fens. The frontiers which divided them from the Catuvellauni and the Trinovantes were the Ouse, the Lark, and the Brett. They thus occupied the same position in relation to the Catuvellauni on the east as did the Dobuni on the west.[1]

There is in this area also a plentiful coinage of gold and silver. A long series of uninscribed gold coins (pl. IV, 19–21) with their corresponding silver (pl. IV, 22–3)[2] is followed by an inscribed issue. Curiously only a single specimen of an inscribed gold stater is known (pl. IV, 25);[3] this bears a monogram of the name Anteð..., a name which is common in the same form on the inscribed silver (pl. IV, 26–7). The silver coins reading Anteð... seem from details of the design to be the first of the inscribed series;[4] they are followed by others reading ED (pl. IV, 28),[5] then ECEN (pl. IV, 29)[6] and later with an improved design ECE (pl. IV, 30–1),[7] AESV, and SAEMV (pl. IV, 32–3).[8] On all these coins the types are as uniform as those of the Dobuni. With the exception of the gold coin all have the same obverse, an element picked from part of the Apollo pattern, and only small details distinguish the reverses.

As in the case of the legend Corio... amongst the Dobuni, which has been thought to represent a place-name, so here it has sometimes been thought that ECEN... was a tribal name, a form of the word given in the Roman texts as *Iceni*.[9] Though no doubt from a cognate root, analogy suggests that we have here again a sequence of rulers. The distribution does not favour the view

[1] For the coinage of this area see R. Rainbird Clarke, *Archaeological Journal*, xcvi, 1940, p. 75. Mr. Clarke has reached independently many of the same conclusions as myself.

[2] First copies of the Gaulish staters, Brooke, *Num. Chron.*, pl. XII, 3–15. The 'nameless hoard' should probably be classed with these: it may have been found at Clacton, as a few coins, apparently from the same hoard, are so labelled in Colchester Museum. Secondly, Evans XXIII. 1–11, and XVI. 1, 7–14 (pl. IV, 19–23). The relative date of this series to the inscribed coins is not certain, but the Anteð stater, XVIII. 2 (pl. IV, 25), appears to be derived from XXIII. 4–5 (pl. IV, 21), in which case this series precedes the inscribed coins.

[3] Evans XVIII. 2 (pl. IV, 25).

[4] *Ibid.*, XV. 9–11, 13 (pl. IV, 26); half denomination, p. 585 (pl. IV, 27). Half denominations of silver are peculiar to the Iceni and the Brigantes.

[5] *Ibid.*, XV. 12 (pl. IV, 28). There is no evidence that the complete legend is Anteð as suggested by Evans. D is used, not Ð.

[6] *Ibid.*, XV. 1–2 (pl. IV, 29). Also an unpublished half denomination in B.M.

[7] *Ibid.*, XV. 3–6 (pl. IV, 30, 31).

[8] *Ibid.*, XV. 7–8 (pl. IV, 32, 33).

[9] Ptolemy gives their name as Σιμενοί or Ἰμενοί; Tacitus and others as Iceni. A single coin in B.M. similar to coins of Anteð reads IC.

that the names belong to different parts of the country. There is, however, a rare silver coin with the legend CAM DVRO (i.e. Camul Duro) (pl. IV, 24),[1] which may belong to a somewhat earlier series than the others (it has a boar on the obverse as have the earlier uninscribed coins) (pl. IV, 22, 23);[2] if the Camul . . . on this coin should be interpreted as Camulodunum, we have here evidence for a brief incursion of the Iceni amongst the Trinovantes. Camul... and Duro... are probably separate words.

The inscribed coins of the Iceni seem identical in date with those of the Dobuni. In the Santon Downham hoard they were found with worn Roman coins of as late as A.D. 41,[3] and they may have been struck down to the conquest of this part of Britain in A.D. 50. There is no reason to place them earlier than I A.D. and thus the Anteð... of these coins must have been roughly a contemporary of the Anteðrig... of the Dobunic series.[4] The evidence is quite insufficient to prove their identity, but there is nothing impossible in the conjecture. We may see in Anteð... amongst the Iceni, as we saw in his namesake amongst the Dobuni,[5] the first of a line of native rulers who steadfastly resisted the pressure, both cultural and political, of the Belgae on their frontiers.

The coinage displays no tendency to invention; a poor conception of a horse is reproduced throughout with no substantial alterations. Here again we see illustrated the conservative quality of the late pre-Roman period outside the actual Belgic areas. The depth to which Celtic art had sunk amongst the Iceni and the Dobuni strikes the eye if a comparison is made between these late series of coins and the earlier enamels from the same districts.[6]

(iv) The Brigantes and Coritani

(See Map VIII; pl. IV, 34-45)

North and east of the Dobuni in Leicestershire and Nottinghamshire lay the tribe of the Coritani, with its Roman capital at Ratae (Leicester). This is the only tribe on the outskirts of the Belgic area which does not seem to have struck a coinage of its own. Although geographically distinct, it seems to have been under the influence of the great tribe which occupied most of the north of

[1] Evans XV. 14 (pl. IV, 24). Another explanation would be that the monogram represents the name of the god Camulus.

[2] e.g. *ibid.*, XVI. 9–12 (pl. IV, 22, 23). Compare the animal on the Witham shield.

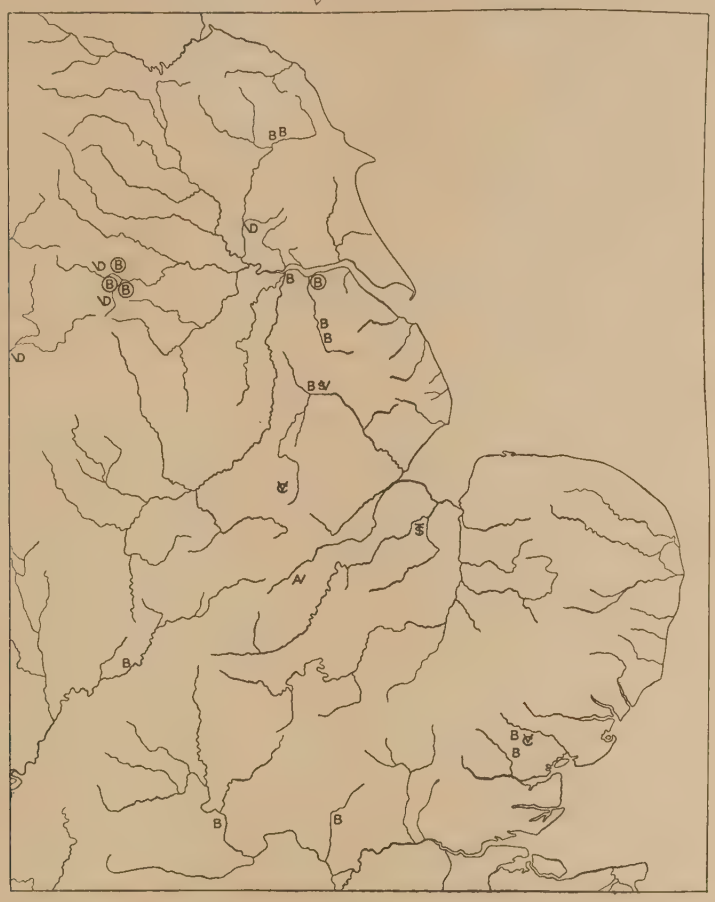
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 583.

[4] Brooke has attempted to show on linguistic grounds that the legend ÆEÐ, which he interpreted as *Ateð*, is equivalent to Aððedomarus (*Antiquity*, p. 288); but the fifth letter of Aððedomarus never has the cross-bar, and by analogy with Evans XVIII. 1 (pl. IV, 9) the legend on the silver must be read as *Anteð*. The argument, therefore, fails on the linguistic ground, but it is also true that coins bearing the two names, though found in adjacent territory, have a mutually exclusive distribution.

[5] See p. 38.

[6] e.g. Leeds, *Celtic Ornament*, plate facing p. 40.

England, the Brigantes. From the point of view of coins these two areas must be treated as one. Few coins have been found amongst the Coritani, whose position, hemmed in by two great tribes, cannot have been conducive to prosperity.



Map VIII. The Brigantes and Coritani

B = Brigantes uninscribed
Ⱥ = Aun...
Ⱦ = Vep... Corf...
$ = Dumn... Tigir... Seno...
Ɗ = Volisios Dumnocoveros
S = Volisios Dumnovellaunos
○ = a hoard
Ⓑ = includes inscribed coins

This map omits certain classes of uninscribed gold staters, dubiously ascribed to the Brigantes and included in his map by Brooke

The coinage of the Brigantes again follows a single pattern in gold and silver. The staters are characterized by a particularly crude and disjointed style, while on the silver the legs of the horse always suffer from certain anatomical peculiarities. An uninscribed series (pl. IV, 34, 35)[1] is followed by an

[1] Evans XVII. 9-12, XXIII. 14; B. Roth, *Num. Chron.*, 1908, p. 17; *Brit. Num. Journ.*, iii, p. 1 (pl. IV, 34, 35). Certain early 'Atrebatic' staters have been attributed by Brooke to the Brigantes; it seems more likely that they were struck amongst the Iceni.

inscribed one (pl. IV, 36–45), and we can make a guess at the order of the names. The earliest staters have the legend AVN (= Aun...) followed perhaps by another word, now illegible (pl. IV, 36).[1] Next come coins reading VEP CORF (pl. IV, 39).[2] The early date of these two types is shown by the fact that on them more traces of the original Apollo pattern remain than on the succeeding coins.[3] The next staters have inscriptions on both obverse and reverse, DVMN/TIGIR SENO,[4] VOLISIOS/DVMNOCO VEROS,[5] and VOLISIOS/DVMNO VELLAV (pl. IV, 40, 41, 43).[6] To nearly all these staters there correspond silver pieces (pl. IV, 37, 38, 42, 44).[7] The silver series, however, ends with one which reads VOLISIOS CARTI VE... (pl. IV, 45).[8] This coin has been attributed with great plausibility to Cartimandua, queen of the Brigantes, who betrayed Caratacus to the Romans in A.D. 50 and continued with varying fortunes to support the Roman cause until her fall in A.D. 69.[9] No corresponding staters have yet been found, though it is likely that they existed.

The coin of Cartimandua gives us a rough date for the end of the series. The only known specimens of it were found in the Honley hoard with Roman coins, the latest of which was dated A.D. 72-3 (Vespasian),[10] a date which supports the identification. As usual it is uncertain when the series began, but the firm lettering implies a comparatively late date, and it must all fall within I A.D.

Many of the inscriptions consist of two or three words, each no doubt abbreviated. It has been thought that the legends Dumnoco-veros and Dumnovellau[nos] also consisted of two words, the second beginning with VE, but this does not seem certain, for we have the analogy of the Kentish Dubnovellaunus.[11]

[1] Evans XVII. 8, a contemporary forgery; there are genuine specimens now in B.M. and in Northampton Museum (pl. IV, 36).

[2] *Ibid.*, XVII. 5–6 (pl. IV, 39).

[3] Another legend seems to be provided by Evans XVII. 4, in York Museum. I have not seen this coin and am not sure that the legend is rightly given by Evans; I have, therefore, not mentioned it in the list of names above.

[4] *Ibid.*, XVII. 3 (pl. IV, 40).

[5] *Ibid.*, XVII. 1 (pl. IV, 41). A specimen in B.M. is apparently struck in silver.

[6] *Ibid.*, XVII. 2, corrected by XXIII. 13 (pl. IV, 43).

[7] Aun... Evans, p. 414; half denomination in B.M. (pl. IV, 37, 38); Dumno Tigir Seno, cast in B.M.; Dumnoco in Mr. R. C. Lockett's collection; Volisios Dumnoco—half denomination or reduced weight?—(pl. IV, 42) and Volisios Dumnove—half denomination or reduced weight?—(pl. IV, 44), both from the Honley hoard, *Num. Chron.*, 1897, p. 297.

[8] Honley hoard (pl. IV, 45).

[9] Hill, *Num. Chron.*, 1897, p. 293; Tacitus, *Annals*, xii, 36, 40; *Histories*, iii, 45.

[10] Hill, *op. cit.*, 297.

[11] Hill (*op. cit.*) failed to realize that the legend given by Evans as Dumnoveros was corrected in the supplement to Dumnovellaunos. He believed that the VE began a new word each time. Dumnovellau[nos] is certainly the same name as Dubnovellaunus; on the Ancyra Monument it is given as Dumnobellau[nus] and Δομνοέλλαυνος. Though certainty in these matters is impossible, one hesitates to identify the two kings since their coins are so widely separated not only in place and in style, but

On the Cartimandua coin, however, if the identification is correct, the monogram must begin a second word. We cannot at present assign meanings to all these words, but, as in other areas, some at least of them may be the names of rulers. The successive consorts of Cartimandua were named Venutius and Vellocatus. There is no evidence from distribution that any of the names are geographical. The use of the same words on more than one type of coin (e.g. Dumn—Dumnocoveros—Dumnovellaunos or Volisios) may imply that we have here a dynastic sequence. TIGIR has been thought to be a title.[1]

Although Brigantian coins have individual characteristics, their rigid attachment to a traditional and decadent type is the same as we have found in other non-Belgic tribes. There is a peculiar disintegration on their coins. The only evidence of vitality in them is the delight which their engravers clearly took in bold and original lettering.

We have now surveyed the coinage of the four non-Belgic tribes which surrounded the Belgic area. Beyond them no pre-Roman coinage is found. Together they formed a barrier against the expansion of Belgic power. Nevertheless, as the existence of a coinage amongst them shows, they learned something of Belgic culture; but the complete artistic failure of these coins demonstrates how ill the lesson was learned.

General survey

Kings and dynasties are mentioned on every page of this paper, but one must not be misled by the sound of these titles. The age was one of migrations, and the 'kings' whom we have met were no more than petty invading chieftains whose lives were spent in marauding one another's territory and preying on their subject peoples.[2] Long life and prosperity are not to be expected in these conditions, and it is surprising that the coins are as plentiful and as civilized as they are. They show that the new aristocracy, for whom and by whom they were made, had acquired wealth and were proud to display it. The vitality of the new-comers is reflected in the art of their coins, but the native populations on their borders were slow to learn new ideas. Of these the art of writing was that which appealed most to them, and the skill which the native tribes displayed in lettering contrasts strangely with the poverty of their artistic achievement.

The chronology suggested in this paper, which is in many respects new, is summarized in the accompanying chart, where an attempt has been made to

also apparently in date. Evans suggested a kinship between the ruling families of the two districts, but, since both elements of the name are so common, this does not follow.

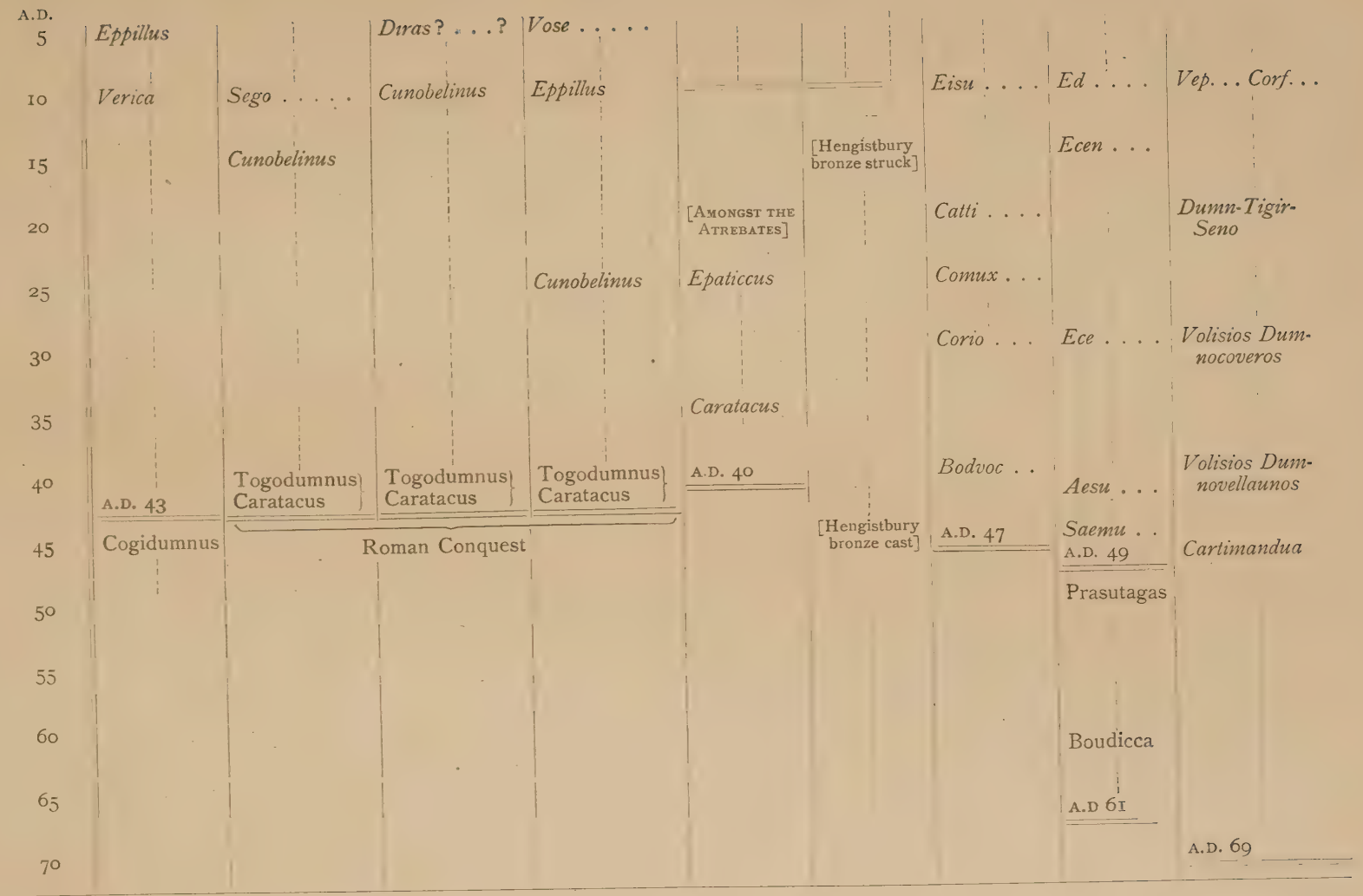
[1] Holder, *Der Alt-Celtische Sprachschatz*, s.v. *Tigir*.

[2] Caesar, *B. G.*, 'praedae ac belli inferendi causa ex Belgio translatio'.

CHART TO SHOW THE SUGGESTED CHRONOLOGY OF THE BRITISH KINGS FROM THE INVASIONS OF JULIUS CAESAR TO THE ROMAN CONQUEST

Names of kings known from coins, or of whom coins are known, in italics; relative positions of uninscribed coinage suggested in square brackets. The earliest dates in the last four columns are more speculative than the rest.

Tribe. / *Date.*	*Atrebates and Regni.*	*Catuvellauni.*	*Trinovantes.*	*Cantii.*	*On Borders of Catuvellauni.*	*Durotriges.*	*Dobuni.*	*Iceni.*	*Brigantes.*
B.C. 60		Cassivellaunus	Inianuvetitius	Cingetorix Carvilius Taximagulus					
55			Mandubratius	Segonax					
50									
45	Commius ? [and Sussex staters and quarter-staters]	[Whaddon Chase staters]	[Clacton (Nameless hoard) staters]			[Chute staters]		[Eastern district staters]	
40									
35									
30	*Commius*	[Derivatives]							
25									
20	*Tincommius*			[Kentish uninscribed staters]					
15		*Tasciovanus*	*Tasciovanus* *Addedomarus*	*Dubnovellaunus*		[Hengistbury silver]	[Frome staters and silver]	[Freckenham staters and silver]	[S. Ferriby staters and silver]
10									
5					[North and West]				
0			*Dubnovellaunus*		*Andoco* . . .	*Crab ?*	*Anted̄rig* . . .	*Anted̄* . . .	*Aun* . . . . .


A.D.
5
10
15
20
25
30
35
40
45
50
55
60
65
70
Eppillus
Verica
Cunobelinus
Sego . . . . .
Diras? . . . ?
Cunobelinus
Vose . . . . .
Eppillus
Cunobelinus
[Hengistbury bronze struck]
[Amongst the Atrebates]
Epaticcus
Caratacus
Togodumnus
Caratacus
Togodumnus
Caratacus
Togodumnus
Caratacus
A.D. 40
A.D. 43
Cogidumnus
Roman Conquest
[Hengistbury bronze cast]
Eisu . . . .
Catti . . . .
Comux . . .
Corio . . .
Bodvoc . .
A.D. 47
Ed . . . .
Ecen . . .
Ece . . . .
Aesu . . .
Saemu . .
A.D. 49
Prasutagas
Boudicca
A.D 61
Vep. . . Corf. . .
Dumn-Tigir-Seno
Volisios Dumnocoveros
Volisios Dumnovellaunos
Cartimandua
A.D. 69

link the coins of the various districts and rulers in parallel series. If this chronology has any merit, it lies in the fact that it reduces the duration of Belgic art in Britain to a period which is in accordance with what we know of the conditions of the time. It must be confessed that much in this chronology is and must remain speculative; nevertheless, it is hoped that the chronological framework which the coins seem to suggest will be helpful to those whose task it is to interpret the evidence of other archaeological finds.

I am grateful to Mr. C. F. C. Hawkes for his encouragement and criticism throughout the writing of this paper. I also wish to thank Mr. H. Mattingly for constant assistance in the work which led up to its preparation.

The Regni and Atrebates.	*Evans.*
1. Uninscribed, stater	B 9
2. Commius, stater	I 10
3. Tincommius, stater	I 12
4. ,, quarter stater	II 2
5. ,, stater	I 13
6. ,, quarter stater	II 4
7. ,, stater	II 8
8. ,, quarter stater	XVIII 9
9. ,, stater	I 14
10. ,, quarter stater	II 6
11. ,, ,, ,,	XVIII 12
12. ,, silver	XIX 1
13. ,, ,,	XIX 2
14. Eppillus, quarter stater	XX 1
15. ,, silver	IV 1
16. Verica, stater	II 11
17. ,, ,,	II 10
18. ,, quarter stater	II 12
19. ,, silver	III 3
20. ,, stater	p. 511
21. ,, ,,	II 9
22. ,, quarter stater	XIX 4
23. ,, ,, ,,	XIX 8
24. ,, silver	XIX 14
25. ,, ,,	p. 184
The incursion of the Catuvellauni amongst the Regni and Atrebates.	
26. Epaticcus, stater	VIII 12
27. ,, silver	VIII 13
28. Caratacus, ,,	XX 8
The Cantii.	
29. Dubnovellaunus, stater	IV 10
30. ,, quarter stater (attributed)	E 13
31. ,, stater	—
32. ,, silver	XX 7
33. ,, ,,	IV 11
34. ,, bronze	XIII 5
35. Uncertain legend, stater	IV 13
36. Vose . . ., quarter stater	IV 14
37. Sa . . ., bronze	XIII 12
38. Eppillus, stater	III 11
39. ,, ,,	III 9
40. ,, quarter stater	III 12
41. ,, silver	III 14
42. ,, ,,	III 7
43. ,, bronze	IV 5
44. ,, ,,	IV 2

Coins of British kings

The Regni and Atrebates

COMMIUS, TINCOMMIUS, EPPILLUS, VERICA, EPATICCUS, CARATACUS

The Cantii

DUBNOVELLAUNUS, VOSE . . ., EPPILLUS

Archaeologia, Volume 90, published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1944

The Catuvellauni.

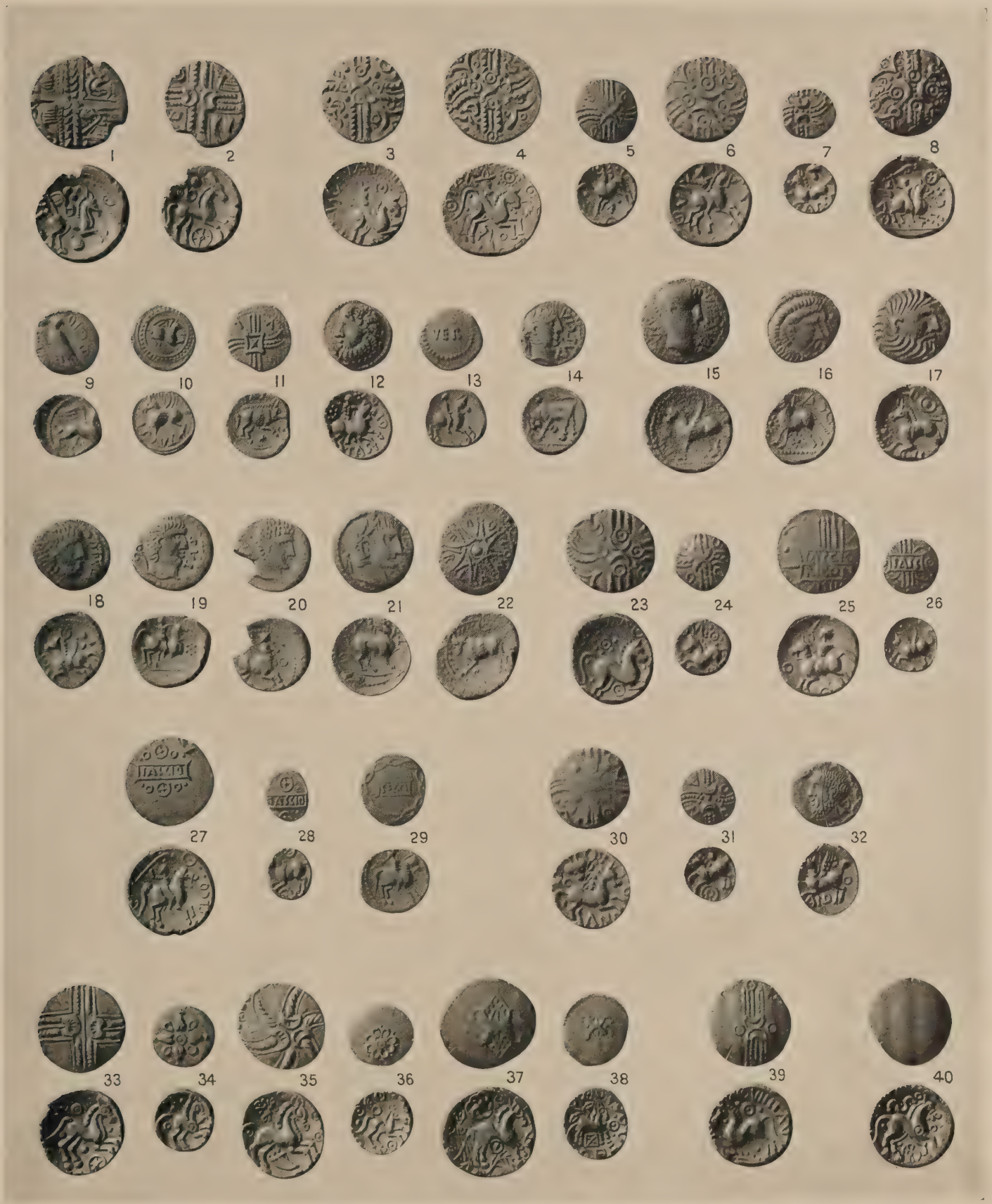
		Evans.
1.	Uninscribed stater	C 6
2.	,, ,,	C 9
3.	Tasciovanus, Verulamium, stater	V 8
4.	,, ,, ,,	V 9
5.	,, ,, quarter stater (attributed)	C 14
6.	,, ,, stater	V 11
7.	,, ,, quarter stater	XX 13
8.	,, ,, stater	V 10
9.	,, ,, silver	VI 7
10.	,, ,, ,,	VI 6
11	,, ,, ,,	XXI 1
12.	,, ,, ,,	VI 3
13.	,, ,, ,,	VII 2
14.	,, ,, ,,	VI 5
15.	,, ,, bronze (double denomination)	VI 8
16.	,, ,, ,,	VII 6
17.	,, ,, ,,	VII 9
18.	,, ,, ,,	VII 8
19.	,, ,, ,,	XXI 4
20.	,, ,, ,,	VII 7
21.	,, ,, ,,	XXI 3
22.	,, ,, ,,	VII 3
23.	,, Camulodunum, stater	V 7
24.	,, ,, quarter stater	—
25.	,, Riconi . . . ., stater	VIII 6
26.	,, ,, quarter stater	V 14
27.	,, Sego . . ., stater	VIII 11
28.	,, ,, quarter stater	XX 10
29.	,, ,, silver	VIII 10

The Western Neighbours of the Catuvellauni.

30.	Andoco . . . ., stater	V 4
31.	,, quarter stater.	V 5
32.	,, silver	V 6

The Trinovantes.

33.	Aððedomarus, stater	XIV 9
34.	,, quarter stater (attributed)	D 13
35.	,, stater	XIV 6
36.	,, quarter stater (attributed)	—
37.	,, stater	XIV 1
38.	,, quarter stater	XIV 2
39.	Dubnovellaunus, stater	IV 9
40.	Diras?, stater	XIII 14



Coins of British kings

The Catuvellauni and their Western Neighbours

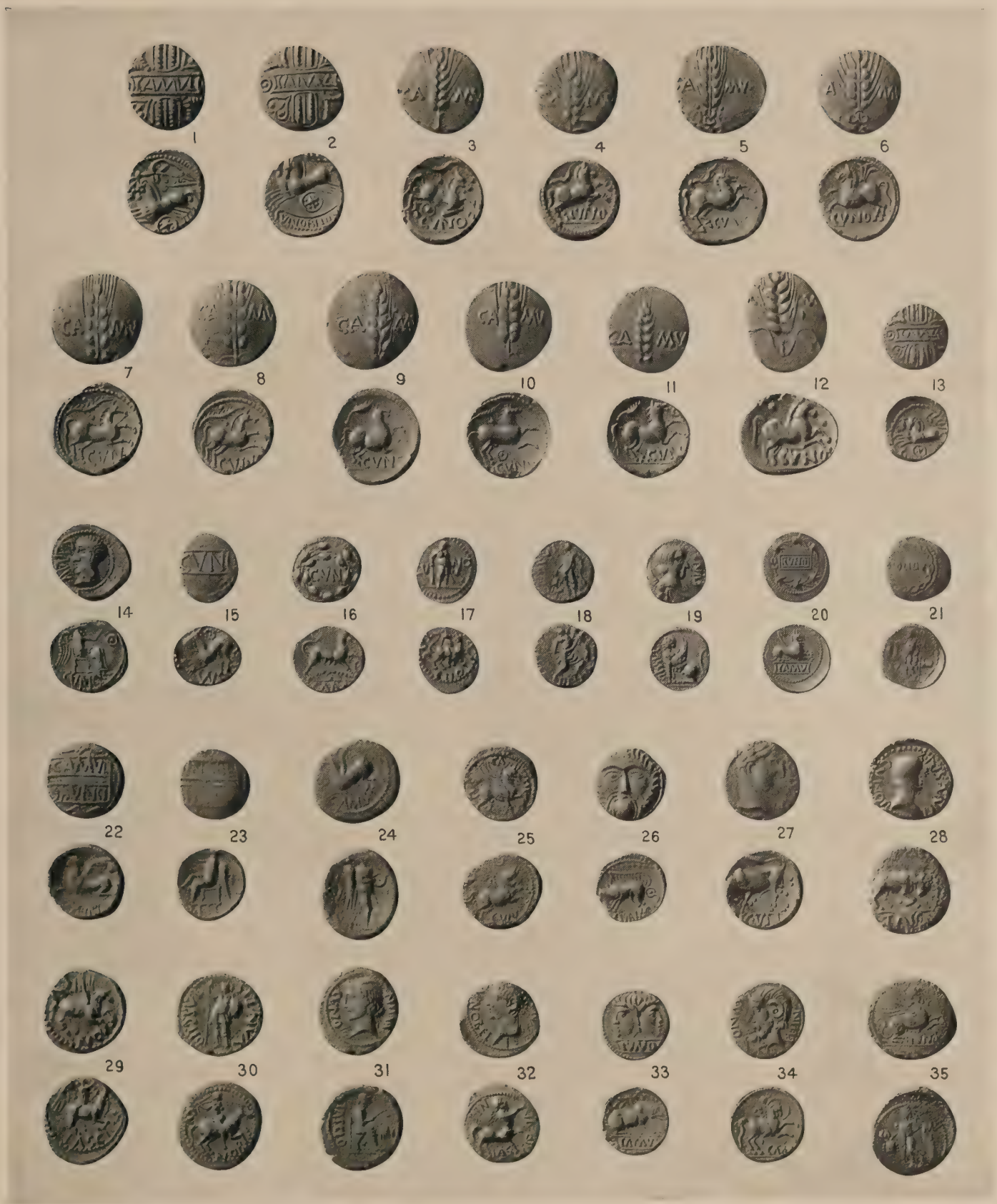
TASCIOVANUS, SEGO . . ., ANDOCO . . .

The Trinovantes

AÐÐEDOMARUS, DUBNOVELLAUNUS, DIRAS

Archaeologia, Volume 90, published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1944

The Catuvellauni and Trinovantes united.		*Evans.*
1.	Cunobelinus, stater	IX 1
2.	,, ,,	XXII 1
3.	,, ,,	IX 5
4.	,, ,,	—
5.	,, ,,	IX 4
6.	,, ,,	IX 3
7.	,, ,,	IX 9
8.	,, ,,	IX 8
9.	,, ,,	—
10.	,, ,,	IX 7
11.	,, ,,	IX 10
12.	,, ,,	XXII 2
13.	,, quarter stater	—
14.	,, silver	XI 3
15.	,, ,,	X 4
16.	,, ,,	X 14
17.	,, ,,	X 11
18.	,, ,,	X 12
19.	,, ,,	X 9
20.	,, ,,	XI 1
21.	,, ,,	XI 6
22.	,, bronze	XII 9
23.	,, ,,	XI 8
24.	,, ,,	XII 12
25.	,, ,,	XII 8
26.	,, ,,	XI 10
27.	,, ,,	XXII 10
28.	,, ,,	XII 5
29.	,, ,,	XII 7
30.	,, ,,	XII 3
31.	,, ,,	XII 6
32.	,, ,,	XII 1
33.	,, ,,	XIII 1
34.	,, ,,	XII 14
35.	,, ,,	XII 10



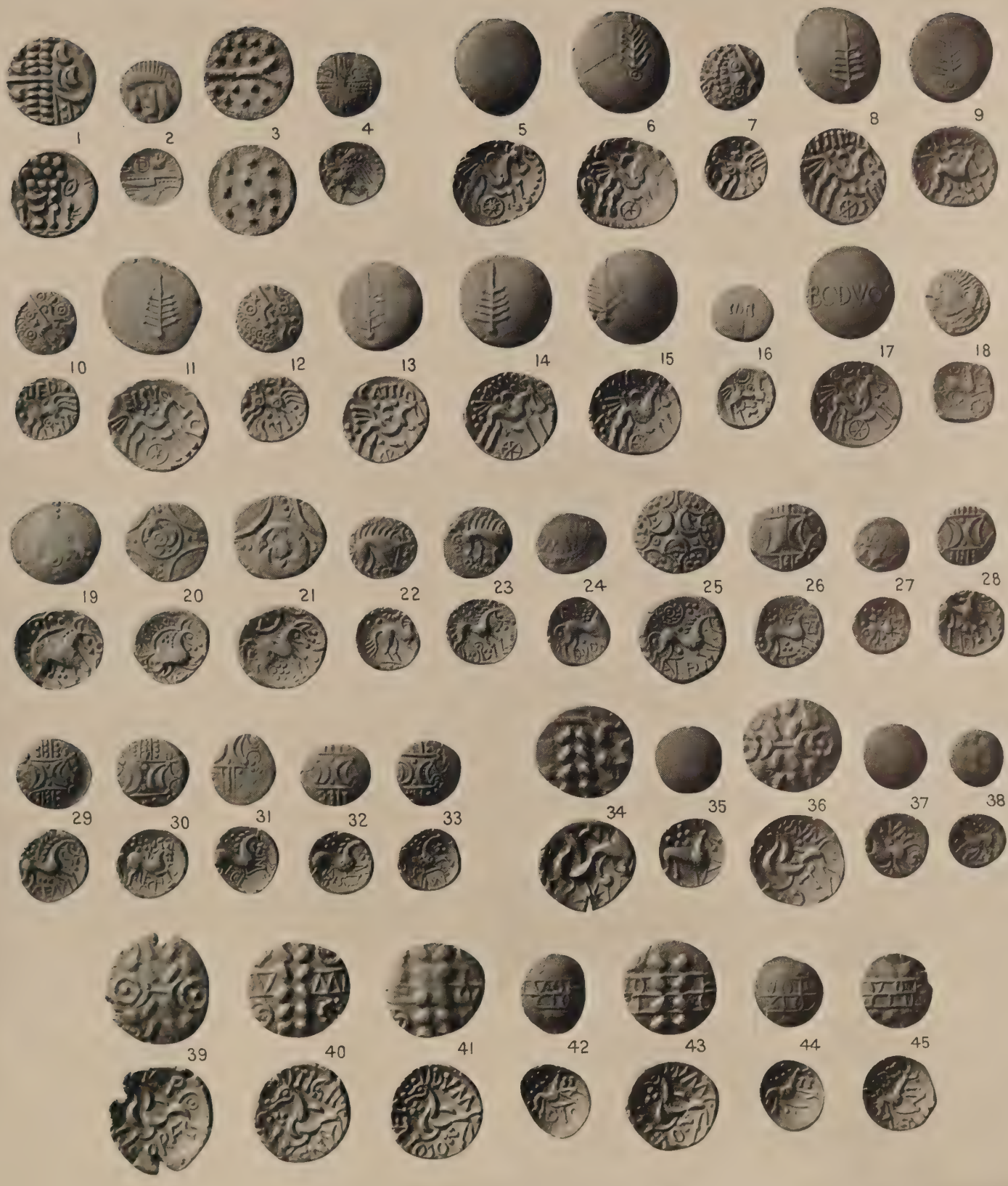
Coins of British kings

The Catuvellauni and Trinovantes united

CUNOBELINUS

Archaeologia, Volume 90, published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1944

		Evans.
The Durotriges.		
1.	Uninscribed, silver stater	F 1
2.	,, silver quarter stater	M 14
3.	,, cast bronze	—
4.	Crab . . ., silver	V 3
The Dobuni.		
5.	Uninscribed, stater of the Regni	B 10
6.	,, stater of the Dobuni	C 4
7.	,, silver	F 8
8.	Anteðrig, stater	I 7
9.	,, ,,	XVIII 1
10.	,, silver	I 8
11.	Eisu, stater	XVIII 4
12.	,, silver	I 9
13.	Catti, stater	I 4
14.	Comux, stater	I 5
15.	Corio, stater	I 6
16.	,, quarter stater	—
17.	Bodvoc, stater	I 1
18.	,, silver	I 3
The Iceni.		
19.	Uninscribed, stater	XXIII 6
20.	,, ,,	XXIII 2
21.	,, ,,	XXIII 4
22.	,, silver	XVI 11
23.	,, ,,	XVI 9
24.	Camul Duro, silver	XV 14
25.	Anteð, stater	XVIII 2
26.	,, silver	XV 11
27.	,, silver (half denomination)	p. 585
28.	Ed . . ., silver	XV 12
29.	Ecen . . ., ,,	XV 1
30.	Ece . . ., ,,	XV 3
31.	,, ,,	XV 4
32.	Aesu, silver	XV 8
33.	Saemu, silver	XV 7
The Brigantes.		
34.	Uninscribed, stater	XVII 9
35.	,, silver	—
36.	Aun . . ., stater	XVII 8
37.	,, silver	p. 414
38.	,, silver (half denomination)	—
39.	Vep-Corf, stater	XVII 5
40.	Dumn-Tigir-Seno, stater	XVII 3
41.	Volisios-Dumnocoveros, stater	XVII 1
42.	Volisios-Dumnoco . . ., silver	—
43.	Volisios-Dumnovellaunos, stater	XXIII 13
44.	Volisios-Dumnove . . ., silver	—
45.	Volisios-Carti-Ve . . ., silver	—



Coins of British kings

The Non-Belgic Tribes
The Durotriges, Dobuni, Iceni, and Brigantes

Archaeologia, Volume 90, published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1944

II.—*Excavation of Barrows on Crichel and Launceston Downs, Dorset*

By Stuart Piggott, F.S.A., *and* C. M. Piggott

I. Introductory

The excavations to be described were undertaken at the request of H.M. Office of Works in the summer of 1938, and were in the nature of 'rescue work', for the area on which the barrows lay had been acquired by a government department and it was felt desirable that some at least of the barrows should be excavated in advance of operations in order to avoid possible damage. With regard to the choice of sites, as will be seen from the site plan (fig. 1), there are altogether some 34 barrows in the area acquired by the Ministry, but it was found possible to limit the actual excavation to eighteen, mainly of small size and elevation, and many extremely small, and mostly within the central area of the ground. The rejection of the large barrows was largely governed by the time factor since the excavation of a large barrow would be of necessity a longer task than that of a small one, and in the limited time allowed we were faced with the alternative of excavating two or three large barrows or a larger number of relatively small mounds.

The limited time and the considerable number of barrows to be excavated, even when the larger examples had been eliminated, led to methods of excavation which can only be justified by the emergency of the situation. Normally, the entire excavation of a barrow is essential if the full story is to be extracted, but at Crichel we found ourselves compelled in certain instances to revert to the discredited method of making a section across the barrow. It is not, however, felt that on the whole much information can have been lost by this procedure in the circumstances. Where any feature appeared in the cutting, which was made as broad as was consonant with saving labour and shortening time, it was explored by extensions of the original trench, and in some barrows the mounds were so riddled with rabbit-burrows that any internal structure that they may have had was long ago destroyed. At all events, by the adoption of these methods where it seemed justified, we were able to excavate the eighteen barrows in a little over five weeks, with the results which are presented in this report.

The work was under the joint supervision of the writers, and four workmen were employed, while for the greater part of the time we were fortunate in having as assistant Mr. Peter Fitzgerald Moore, who made himself responsible for the surveying, and in particular for the preparation of the contoured plans

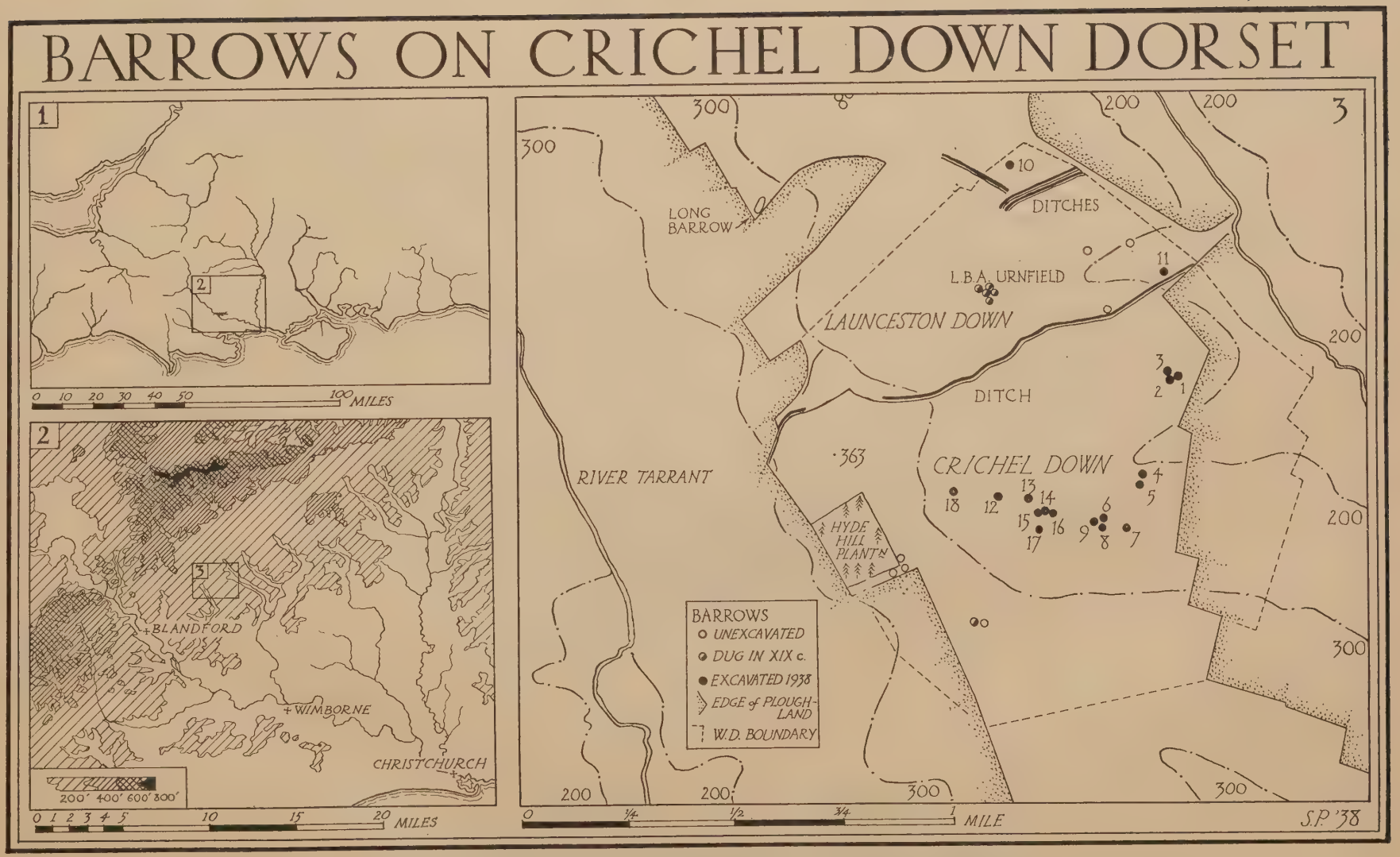


Fig. 1. Maps showing the Crichel Down site and the position of the barrows

of the barrows before excavation. It is a pleasure here to acknowledge the gratitude we feel for his help, which took a considerable weight from our shoulders. In addition, we received voluntary assistance at various times from Miss Pamela Preston, Miss M. E. de Putron, Miss M. Sloane-Stanley, and Messrs. John Brailsford, Lawrence Bussell, Owen Meyrick, C. W. Phillips, Wilfrid Seaby, and J. W. Wakefield. In the preparation of the report we have to acknowledge with thanks the help given by Mr. L. F. Cowley of the National Museum of Wales, and Dr. J. W. Jackson of the University Museum, Manchester. Dr. J. F. S. Stone has kindly examined the calcite bead from barrow 18 and contributed a special report on it. On the actual site every facility was given for excavation by the Ministry, and in the period of time before they assumed the ownership the late Lord Allington, the former owner of the land, was equally helpful.

The Topography of the Site. The position of Crichel and Launceston Downs is shown on the maps in fig. 1: the barrows are situated on open downland in the middle of Cranborne Chase, five miles from Blandford to the south and seventeen miles south-west of Salisbury. The chalk has here a sporadic capping of clay-with-flints, inducing a slight growth of scrub in parts, particularly in the shallow valley running east and west across the area examined and in which a number of barrows were situated. The area is mainly between the 200 and 300 ft. contours, with a general slope from west to east, and is dominated on the east by the ridge rising to nearly 350 ft. crowned by Hyde Hill Plantation. This ridge is one of a series with a general north-west to south-east direction, which lie between the valleys of the tributaries of the Wiltshire Avon: our site is bounded by the Crichel Brook to the north-east and by the River Tarrant to the south-west, and the arable fields of Long Crichel and Tarrant Launceston form the limits of the natural downland.

Thirty-four barrows in all exist on the area acquired by the Ministry: of these eighteen were excavated in 1938 and six additional barrows had been dug into by Charles Warne and his friends in the last century, with results summarized below. As well as the barrows, there stretch across the area to the north-west two fragments of dyke systems, one of which, that to the north, is a part of the length of multiple banks and ditches which can be traced intermittently from Thickthorn Down to the north-east (Sumner, *Earthworks of Cranborne Chase*, 35 and pl. XVI A).

The Nineteenth-Century Excavations. Five small low barrows on Launceston Down, at the point marked 'L.B.A. Urnfield' in fig. 1, were dug into in 1864 by the Rev. J. H. Austen and Mr. Shipp (Warne, *Celtic Tumuli*, ii, 23–4, 27). Of these, one disclosed no interment, but in the second was a 'broken urn' apparently on the old surface, containing a cremation, among the ashes of which was found

'the point of a bronze dagger or spear', suggesting comparison with our discovery near by in 1938. The third barrow covered a pit dug in the chalk and containing a Late Bronze Age cinerary urn illustrated by Warne, and apparently of the type of Latch Farm No. 6,[1] but with finger-tip impressions below the rim and on the shoulder. The fourth barrow again contained a Late Bronze Age urn, this time on the old surface, similar to Latch Farm 78 except that it lacks the close finger-tip ornament on and immediately below the rim of the latter. The last barrow appears to have been similar to B 1 of the 1938 excavations, with an urn placed immediately above a deposit of charcoal and burnt bones within and over a hole cut in the chalk. All barrows are presumably to be dated as Late Bronze Age, as the pottery from two of them is definitely of that period.

Of two barrows excavated by Charles Warne (his 39 and 40; *Celtic Tumuli*, i, 51) it is possible to identify at least one, to the south-east of Hyde Plantation, and it is shown on the map, fig. 1. In both he found cremations in holes in the chalk, in one instance under a central cairn of flints. It is probable that Hyde Hill Plantation itself occupies the site of Warne's 'Launceston Sepulchralia', which seems to have been a series of small cremation-cemeteries in groups of holes in the chalk, with a layer of closely packed flint nodules above each group. The account is confused, but does suggest analogies to the Easton Down urnfield of Middle Bronze Age date (*Wilts. Arch. Mag.* xlvi, 218–24).

Discoveries in 1938 prior to Excavation. When going over the ground some months previous to the excavations certain finds were made which may be conveniently dealt with here, to be described more fully in certain respects at a later stage. A series of trenches had been cut across the down for training purposes during the war of 1914–18, and these had been left unfilled and had become only partially grass-grown, the sides in most places presenting a more or less clean chalk face. At one point one of these trenches cuts through the small group of barrows excavated by Austen in 1864 (see p. 49 above), and near here remains of three Late Bronze Age vessels containing cremated bones were found exposed in the sides of the trench (pl. IX, *d*). Among the burnt material in one of these was a fragment of a bronze spearhead. In addition, a small hole was seen in section, 8 in. across and 14 in. deep, in the filling of which was a small broken Middle Bronze Age urn inverted, but with no trace of cremated bones. The hole resembled a post-hole, and the brown mould filling it contrasted with the black soil around the Late Bronze Age vessels, which were contained in pits cut in the chalk, their rims flush with the base of the humus and largely

[1] C. M. Piggott, 'A Middle Bronze Age Barrow and Deverel–Rimbury Urnfield at Latch Farm near Christchurch, Hants', *Proc. Prehist. Soc.*, iv, 169–87. Where possible comparisons are drawn from the Late Bronze Age vessels from this site, as it offers a large Wessex cemetery accessibly published.

broken away. The site is clearly that of an urnfield and barrow-group constituting a Late Bronze Age cemetery, and further comment is reserved until the Late Bronze Age section of this report (p. 60).

II. The Excavations of 1938

The eighteen barrows excavated covered a chronological period of at least a thousand years, ranging from the Neolithic to the Late Bronze Age. In addition, it is probable that B 6, with its three extended skeletons, may be of Saxon date, though direct evidence is lacking. It will be convenient to describe and comment on the barrows in this chronological order, while reserving a detailed account of each individual site to the end, where the barrows are described in the order in which they were excavated, and in which they are numbered for reference on the illustrations and in the general text of this report.

Neolithic. The burial from B 13 should date from this period on the grounds of the leaf-shaped flint arrowhead found among the ribs; a form typologically Neolithic, although it had a long survival into the Early and even into the Middle Bronze Age. The 'barrow' in this particular instance was little more than a capping of earth and flints over a small natural knoll, and the crouched skeleton lay only a few inches below the turf upon large flint nodules which suggested a deliberately laid paving. At the foot of the skeleton were two intersecting circular post-holes, filled with the grey fine-grained material characteristic of post-holes in the chalk (pl. XIII, *c*). The double hole suggests replacement, and in fact the burial must have been at the foot of a standing pole which must have been an object of sufficient veneration for it to have been renewed after a lapse of at least a generation.

Evidence is available to parallel this practice of burial at the foot of a standing post in the Neolithic A culture of southern England: it certainly appears to have been the case with the child's burial at Whitehawk,[1] while on Handley Down (not far from Crichel) Pitt-Rivers excavated a curious burial in a pit which seems to have served the dual purpose of a grave and a large post-hole.[2] In this connexion, too, the posts originally standing at the east end of the long barrows at Thickthorn[3] and Badshot Lea[4] take on a new significance. The idea is clearly a version of the burial at the foot of a standing stone which we know from the Manio evidence to be an early feature in the Western neolithic burial-customs in Brittany,[5] and one that persists into the Early Bronze Age both in that region and at e.g. Avebury.[6]

[1] *Sussex Arch. Colls.*, lxxvii (1936), 72–3.
[2] *Excavations in Cranborne Chase*, iv, 49.
[3] *Proc. Prehist. Soc.*, ii (1936), 77–96.
[4] *Survey of the Prehistory of the Farnham District* (Surrey Arch. Soc., 1939), 133–49.
[5] *Antiquity*, xi (1937), 441–5.
[6] *Ibid.*, x (1936), 422.

The leaf-shaped flint arrowhead found among the ribs of the skeleton is well made, and of the long oval type which should be typologically early,[1] though, as already remarked, the persistence of the leaf-arrowhead into post-Neolithic times renders it of little value as an accurate dating determinant save *a quo*.

Early Bronze Age. No less than five of the barrows excavated were found to belong to the Early Bronze Age, three of the burials being associated with beakers, and in a fourth instance beaker fragments were found in primary associations. Of the five barrows, nos. B 5, B 14, B 16, and B 17 constitute a group by reason of their similarity of type and also of their proximity one to another, B 11 being a totally different and exceptional barrow.

The four barrows first enumerated all lay on the same part of the down, B 14, B 16, and B 17 being close together, and B 5 lying at some little distance to the north-west. They were all small and inconspicuous mounds, none rising more than a few inches above the surrounding down, and with small diameters of about 20 ft., and were indeed only discovered in the course of the work on the larger and more conspicuous barrows in their neighbourhood. This fact prompts one to suggest that more burials similar to those covered by these barrows may exist in their vicinity, their mounds having in the course of time merged imperceptibly with the surrounding ground. In fact, it seems likely that we are dealing with a cemetery of the beaker period, similar to those of the Oxford region,[2] where very slight mounds such as those at Crichel would certainly vanish, had they existed, with a season's ploughing. A precise parallel for the type of barrow, with its slight mound composed of flint nodules and covering a large grave-pit, has recently been published from Stockbridge Down, Hants, and was found to contain an interment with a B i beaker.[3]

If the Crichel barrows are taken to represent the visible survivors of a Beaker cemetery, it must be remarked at once that the types of beakers represented in the burials are mixed—B 14 producing a fine vessel of type B i, while B 17 yielded a good A beaker and B 16 a diminutive vessel of the same class. This mixture, contrasting with the exclusively A beaker Oxford cemeteries, suggests either continuity of use over a long period or a relatively late date with consequent mingling of the ceramic types.

The large oval or slightly squared grave-pits of the four barrows are entirely typical of beaker graves, and in two instances the skeleton was lying on its side in a slightly flexed position. In B 16, however, the filling of the grave was in

[1] The type appears in the causewayed camps at e.g. Abingdon (*Antiq. Journ.* vii (1927), 446; fig. 5b) and Whitehawk (*Sussex Arch. Coll.*, lxxi (1930), pl. xiv, fig. 13), though, curiously enough, not at Hembury Fort.

[2] At Cassington (12 graves) (*Antiq. Journ.*, xiv (1934), 268–75) and Eynsham (18 graves) (*Oxoniensia*, iii (1938), 7–30).

[3] *Antiq. Journ.*, xx (1940), 39-51.

such a condition as strongly to suggest plundering in antiquity. The actual material in the pit was, in contrast to the clean chalk rubble of B 14 and B 17, of mixed chalk rubble and earthy material, while the bones of the skeleton were scattered, broken and incomplete, there being in particular no trace of the skull, the surviving fragments being mainly those of the long bones. Finally, the small beaker was found in fragments at the very top of the grave-filling, just under the flints of the body of the mound. This evidence points to plundering of the grave, and it seems likely that this took place in ancient times, rather than that it was the result of ill-considered digging in the last or immediately preceding centuries for antiquarian ends. The leaving of the beaker seems hardly consonant with the latter explanation, and absence of the skull might be taken to imply its removal for ritual purposes by those who knew that the burial had taken place. In fact, the evidence even suggests to some degree that this plundering took place after the grave was filled but before the cairn of flints was placed over it. There was no evidence of this part of the barrow having been disturbed, nor were the flints intermingled with the filling of the grave as would have been the case if the barrow had been carelessly dug into from above after it was completed.

In B 17 the skeleton was accompanied, not only with a beaker of type A, but a bronze awl placed at the feet (fig. 25). The awl is of the double-pointed type, square in section, characteristic of the earliest metal cultures of the West, and a constant feature of the beaker metal equipment of the continent. An analysis of the metal is given in Appendix I.

The skeletons from B 14 and B 17 were in good condition. Both lay on the right side, with the legs slightly flexed, in a manner normal to beaker interments, but the individual from B 5 had been dealt with in a more unusual manner. The skeleton was found to be flexed to a degree which rendered it a compact mass of bones measuring only 2 ft. by 1 ft. 6 in., and such flexion can hardly have taken place until the flesh was largely rotted from the bones, for the right leg had been forcibly dislocated at the hip, the head of the femur having been wrenched from its socket in the pelvis (pl. VIII, *b*). Furthermore, the left heel-bone was found under the skull, suggesting that decomposition had reached such a state that parts of the extremities of the body had become detached, while its presence in association with the skeleton at all may further be taken to imply that the decayed, bound-up body was contained in some form of loose wrapping or bag which would keep the component parts together, even if detached from one another and eventually finding themselves in incongruous positions. An exact parallel to such a forcibly flexed skeleton in the beaker period in Britain is afforded by that from the cemetery at Foxley Farm, Eynsham (*Oxoniensia*, iii (1938), 22 and pl. II. c).

In B 5 there also seems to have been some curious interference with the filling of the grave after the deposition of the corpse. As can be seen from the plan and section (fig. 14), the skeleton lay in effect on a 'bench' of clean chalk rubble, 1 ft. 3 in. above the flat bottom of the grave and occupying the northern side. The remainder of the grave-filling consisted of yellow earth and stones. Such a platform of rubble could never have existed as a separate entity: it must have been the remnant of a layer covering the whole of the lower part of the grave-pit, the southern side being dug away and replaced by the disturbed earth. Whatever the actual cause, the digging left the skeleton undisturbed, though it may have removed grave-goods, no trace of which were found. The placing of the skeleton not on the bottom of the grave but on a thick layer of rubble is itself curious, though there are parallels for the placing of the corpse well to one side of a large grave noted by Greenwell (*British Barrows*, 23).

The most remarkable of the whole series of skeletons from these beaker graves was, however, that from B 14, the skull of which had been trepanned, a large circular piece of bone having been removed from the left occipital and replaced before burial. There is no sign of new growth of bone on the edges of the opening thus formed, and we can therefore conclude that death followed the operation within a relatively short time. The operation had been carried out by cutting a V-shaped groove through the skull, widest at the exterior and narrowing down to the internal table, exposing the diploe in oblique section.

Such trepanning operations are known from a large number of sites in Europe of Neolithic and Early Bronze Age date, and the whole question has been reviewed in the light of modern archaeological knowledge by one of the writers (S.P.) in a recent paper.[1] The Crichel skull falls into line with other trepanned skulls of beaker age from the Foxley Farm cemetery (*loc. cit.*, 23–5 (Grave 16)) and from Spain and Moravia.

B 11 was of a type quite distinct from the preceding barrows, though apparently also of Early Bronze Age date. Before excavation it appeared as a large low mound, 80 ft. across and about 3 ft. high, but excavation showed it to have two large concentric ditches hidden completely by the skirts of the mound (pl. XI), but which had originally existed as visible features and were not ritual in the sense of the concealed ditches of e.g. the barrows at Dunstable[2] and Ysgeifiog,[3] for the section of their silting showed a well-marked sequence of slow silting-up over some period of time, and not the unstratified filling resulting from deliberate replacement of material.

These ditches presumably were accompanied by banks of excavated material, for the body of the barrow had not been made of chalk rubble, but of humic loam,

[1] *Proc. Prehist. Soc.*, v (1940).
[2] *Arch. Journ.*, lxxxviii (1931), 193.
[3] *Arch. Camb.*, lxxxi (1926), 48.

apparently piled-up turves. As excavated, this central loam mound measured 29 ft. in diameter, extending in fact to what would have been the inner edge of the presumed bank within the inner ditch. This bank had disintegrated and slipped back into the ditch, and it is probable that originally the turf mound was only 15 ft. across, with a berm, 7 ft. wide, between it and the inner bank. Evidence for this is afforded by the curious state of the original chalk surface over the area shown as 'disturbed' on the plan: the entire surface was here pocked with very irregular holes and channels filled with brown loam. The holes did not seem explicable as of human construction, and the condition can hardly be other than the result of the growth of scrub and small bushes, and this seems reasonable evidence for supposing that this region was originally uncovered by any mound, and represents the surface of the down at the time of construction, preserved from further interference by the slipping of the turf mound over it. It would seem likely that the growth of scrub was favoured by damp conditions of the area in question, which, subject to drainage from the central turf mound and from the encircling bank, would in effect be almost like a shallow ditch bottom, but unlike this, would provide natural humus and top-soil and not bare chalk, favouring the growth of boscage from the outset.

It would seem likely that the central turf mound was built up into cylindrical or conical form with steep sides, thus leading to an irregular spread and collapse outwards. Such a mound has been postulated by Sir Cyril Fox to account for the somewhat similar phenomena observed in a barrow excavated by him at Coity, Glamorganshire.[1]

Centrally beneath the turf mound was an oval grave which was found to reach a depth of nearly 9 ft. below the natural chalk, and at the bottom the body had been placed lightly flexed, with a forequarter of pork at the feet (pl. XIII, *b*). Such exceptionally deep grave-shafts are known from other barrows in Wessex, notably Colt Hoare's barrow 12 of the Wilsford Group, where a 'wide and low' barrow covered a grave 10 ft. deep containing a crouched inhumation, and his barrow 1 at Woodyates with a similar shaft and burial.[2]

The evidence for dating the barrow in the Early Bronze Age is in part presumptive, relying on the rarity of crouched inhumations after this period. But the only sherds found in the mound were those of beakers, while at one point the inner ditch had cut through a small circular pit, containing occupation soil and beaker sherds which had spilled out into the ditch itself. This hole is probably best compared with the 'ash-pits' in the Easton Down settlement:[3] it

[1] Pond Cairn, *Archaeologia*, lxxxvii, 142.

[2] *Ancient Wilts.*, i. 208; 236. Cf. also Thurnam in *Archaeologia*, xliii, 314, for further examples of exceptionally deep graves.

[3] *Wilts. Arch. Mag.*, xlvii, 74.

does not seem to have been a post-hole. There was no sign of a turf-line over this pit, and it therefore should be only slightly anterior in time to the building of the barrow.

Double-ditched barrows are not a common type, the best example being that near Woodhenge, in which the ditches surrounded an interment with an A beaker and a stone battle-axe (*Woodhenge*, p. 42). Somewhat similar barrows

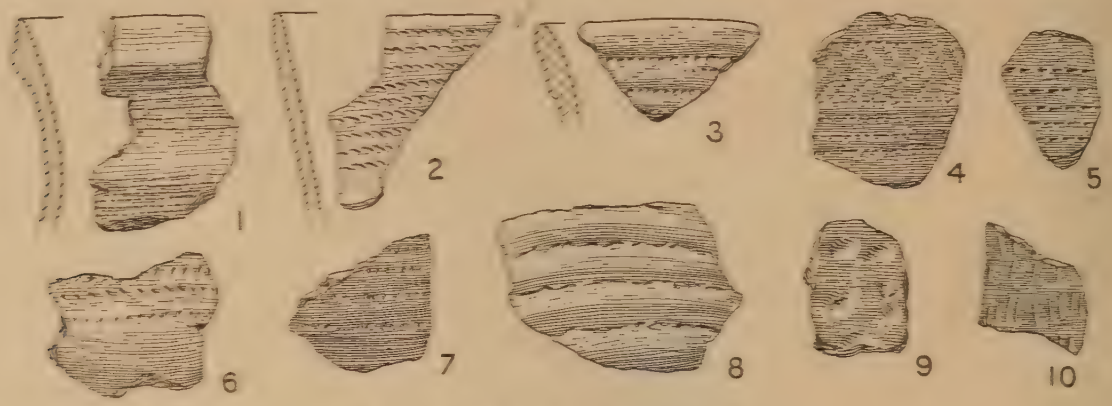


Fig. 2. Beaker sherds from B 11 (¼)

are suggested by air-photographs at Grately and near Stonehenge (*Air Photography for Archaeologists* (1929), pls. VII and VIII). The type presumably derives from the double-ditched Dutch barrows (e.g. van Giffen, *Die Bauart*, Taf. 111, 115; Bursch, *Die Becherkultur*, 8, 11, 14; *Oud. Meded.*, XVI (1935), 59).

The finds from the Early Bronze Age barrows are almost exclusively of pottery. The B i beaker from B 14 is a large, rather heavily made vessel, its high narrow proportions recalling in general terms the other B i vessels from Wessex (e.g. Abercromby nos. 24, 26, 27). The ornament is carelessly executed and while in its main style conformable with such local vessels as those mentioned above, parallels for the short horizontal dashes of cord ornament seem wanting from any locality nearer than Runcton Holme in Norfolk, where a beaker is somewhat similarly ornamented (*Proc. Prehist. Soc. E. Anglia*, VII (1933), 200; pl. XI). The Crichel vessel is a valuable addition to the Wessex beakers of type B i, previous finds of which are listed and mapped in *Proc. Prehist. Soc.*, IV (1938), 56.

The sherds from B 11 (fig. 2) seem to be exclusively of beakers of the B class, and in addition to the normal fragments there are two sherds with finger-nail ornament—one with simple finger-tip impressions and the other with ribs formed by pinching up the surface with thumb and forefinger. This latter sherd falls into line with the 'rusticated' beaker ware discussed by Dr. Clark (*Proc. Prehist. Soc.*, II, 22) and by him would be classed in the 'Somersham Ware' group. The best parallel to the Crichel sherd is the beaker from East Tuddenham,

Norfolk (*Proc. Prehist. Soc. E. Anglia*, vii (1934), 424), and similar sherds occur at Fifty Farm, Cambridgeshire (*Camb. Ant. Soc. Comm.*, xxxv, 125; pl. ii) and at Gorsey Bigbury on Mendip (*Proc. Bristol Univ. Spel. Soc.*, v (1938), 40), in the latter instances associated with A beaker material. It seems likely that the style may have some connexions with late Neolithic 'Groove Ware', the cordon ornament on some of which (e.g. that from Honington, Cambs.—in Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, unpublished) is made in precisely the same manner and shows similar nail-marks in the hollows between the raised bands.

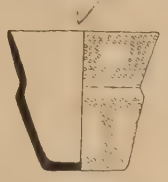


Fig. 3. Beaker from B 16 (½)

The A beaker culture is represented by a well-made beaker from B 17, with a very good red surface and ornament of zones of upright strokes made with an irregularly serrated tool. This curious decoration is exactly paralleled on the upper part of an A beaker from Figheldean, Wilts. (Goddard's B 25), and in describing this vessel Mr. R. S. Newall suggested that the ornament had been made by impressing the edge of a worked flint flake (*Wilts. Arch. Mag.*, xliv (1928), 118). Such an explanation seems highly probable in the Crichel specimen.

The 'miniature' beaker from B 16 (fig. 3) is also of A type, but is difficult to parallel: the only similarly diminutive beaker we have been able to trace being a B 2 beaker from Shoebury, Essex (Pollitt, *Arch. of Rochford Hundred* (1935), pl. xvi, i). The ornament, of impressed circles, is also rare: in Wessex it is found on A beakers at Lambourn and near Stonehenge (Abercromby nos. 3 and 7), and at Gorsey Bigbury (*Proc. Bristol Univ. Spel. Soc.*, v (1938), 32). Further afield it occurs on a beaker from Shefford, Beds. (*Antiq. Journ.*, xviii, 284), at Lion Point, Essex (*Proc. Prehist. Soc.*, ii, pl. xxxix, 10), and on a vessel which may have been a beaker from Etall Moor, Northumberland (*Proc. Berwick Nat. Club*, v, 195; pl. xiii, 5–6). It also occurs on a handled beaker from Aldro, E. R. Yorks (*Forty Years*, fig. 101).

In the filling of the grave beneath B 14 were two flint implements –one a pointed pick-like tool and the other, which lay on the bottom of the grave near the feet of the skeleton, a flake with slight secondary working near the tip (fig. 23, 1, 2). Neither constitutes a type to which any useful parallels can be drawn.

Middle Bronze Age. Six barrows (B 2, B 7, B 9, B 12, B 15, and B 18) appear to belong to the Middle Bronze Age, although the evidence for some is not conclusive. The most important of these barrows is B 2, where internal details of structure were recovered (pls. vi, vii). This barrow was surrounded by a well-cut ditch with a causeway to the east, and at the approximate centre was a cremation in a shallow hole cut into the old humus and slightly into the solid chalk. Eccentrically placed, and occupying the north-west quadrant of the

barrow, was a circular bedding-trench, 10 ft. in diameter, with an entrance to the south-east and with traces of original wooden uprights spaced at 3-ft. intervals and packed in with rammed chalk. In the centre of this was another cremation on the old surface, and near it a small circular hole, perhaps a post-hole. On the bottom of the bedding-trench on each side of the entrance was found a piece of bone, the two fragments when brought together reuniting to form the radius of an ox, split longitudinally (pl. VII, *a*). This ritual deposit is of extreme interest, as it shows that peculiar sanctity was attached to the entrance to the timber enclosure, and indeed the offerings must be regarded in the same light as the gateway-offerings of Sumerian temples.[1]

The timber structure around the second cremation may have been a small hut, or a circle of free-standing posts, and the evidence rather suggests the latter (see detailed account of this barrow, p. 64). At all events, it is clearly in the tradition of the 'Henge' monuments of the Early Bronze Age, as indeed is the main encircling ditch of the barrow with its wide causeway to the east. Parallels suggest themselves from Yorkshire, where the eccentrically placed circular wooden structure found by Mortimer in his Barrow 41[2] may be quoted as closer than the well-known and more elaborate affair in the Calais Wold barrow. The small diameter of the Crichel palisaded enclosure serves to differentiate it from the majority of the timber circles set in bedding-trenches within the Bronze Age barrows of Holland (e.g. Harendermolen, nearly three times as large)[3] but it may be compared with such small rings of closely set posts in a trench as that in the Retenberg barrow, about 12 ft. across.[4] The use of a continuous bedding-trench instead of separate post-holes has parallels in the English Neolithic at Wor Barrow and at the Giants Hills long barrow in Lincolnshire.[5]

The occurrence of this structure, referable to the Middle Bronze Age on the strength of the rite of cremation employed, is of importance in bridging the gap between the Early Bronze Age timber circles with penannular ditches and the ritual timber structure similarly surrounded, and belonging to the Early Iron Age, recently excavated at Frilford, Berks.[6]

The penannular ditch occurred again at Crichel in B 9, surrounding a central cremation, while in the mound of this barrow were a number of secondary Late Bronze Age cremation burials, thus satisfactorily providing a *terminus ad quem* for dating the original barrow before that period. In addition to these secondary cremations, there was also an unaccompanied inhumation burial in an oval

[1] We owe this suggestion to Sir Leonard Woolley, who was present during the excavation of this barrow.

[2] Mortimer, *Forty Years*, 182.

[3] van Giffen, *Die Bauart der Einzelgräber*, Taf. 32.

[4] *Ibid.*, Taf. 37.

[5] Pitt-Rivers, *Excavations in Cranborne Chase*, iv, 65; *Archaeologia*, lxxxv, 46.

[6] *Oxoniensia*, iv, 11 ff.

grave near the edge of the mound of the same barrow: although definite evidence is absent, this would appear to be secondary rather than earlier than the barrow, and may be compared with the Romano-British contracted burials in oval graves found by Pitt-Rivers at Rotherley.[1]

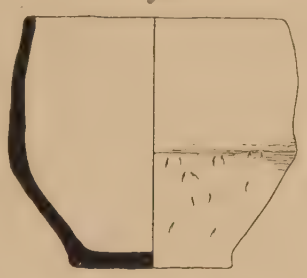


Fig. 4. Secondary vessel from B 17 ($\frac{1}{4}$)

B 7 was a small barrow covering a cremation with sherds of cinerary urn fabric. In the material of the mound was a flint implement of pseudo-palaeolithic form (fig. 23, 4) Similar types were found by Pitt-Rivers in Bronze Age contexts, from the upper silt of the Wor Barrow ditch (*Excav. in Cranborne Chase*, iv, pl. 259) and from the ditch of Barrow 29 on Handley Hill (*ibid.*, pl. 304). One may also quote in this connexion the 'ovate' chipped from part of a polished flint axe at Windmill Hill (Inner Ditch, cutting XII, between 2 ft. and bottom; no. F 2628). B 15 was extremely small, being 12 ft. in diameter and covering a cremation in a conical hole in the chalk. A precisely similar cremation-hole was a secondary feature in B 14, close by, and both burials are assigned to the Middle Bronze Age as probabilities only: they may equally well be of the Late Bronze Age. B 17, like B 14 a beaker period barrow (see p. 76), also had a curious secondary deposit in the filling of the grave, of a vessel without any cremation accompanying it. This rather anomalous pot (fig. 4) can only be described as a degenerate food-vessel, in the style of such a vessel as Abercromby pl. LIII, 389.

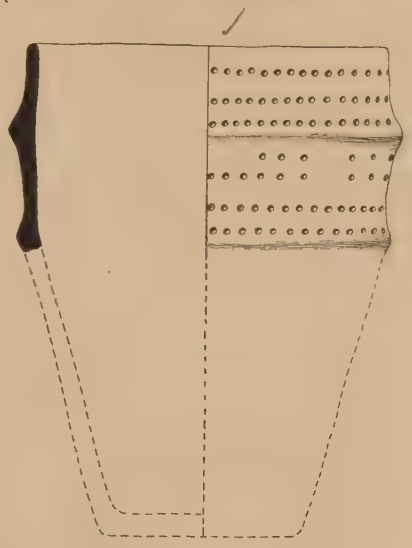


Fig. 5. Cinerary urn from B 12 ($\frac{1}{4}$)

B 12 was badly disturbed in the central area, but an eccentric cremation was found in an inverted vessel, which should be fairly early in the cinerary urn series. This urn, with a smooth chestnut-brown exterior and black core, is ornamented with rows of circular depressions made with a smooth-ended tool (fig. 5). Similar ornament is known from a handled beaker from Hunts. (*Antiq. Journ.* iv (1924), 131), but an exact parallel, on a cinerary urn of similar profile to that under consideration, comes from a barrow at Ibsley near Fordingbridge (Sumner, *Local Papers*, 112). The technique of decoration also occurs in Scotland on urns from Rappla Wood, Aberdeenshire (*Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, XXXVII, 104), and Duncra Hill, Pencaitland (*Antiquity*, iii, 290).

[1] *Excavations in Cranborne Chase*, ii, 190 ff. (nos. 13 and 15).

The cremation in B 18, in a circular flat-bottomed hole in the chalk, was accompanied by a bead of rare type and material—a spacing-bead of calcite—which is the subject of a special note by Dr. J. F. S. Stone (p. 77). He shows that the evidence of other finds suggests that this bead is contemporary with the blue faience segmented beads, now dated with some certainty as round about 1400 B.C., and so places this barrow securely in our Middle Bronze Age. The evidence of trade from the Mendips implied by the material of the bead is noteworthy, and one may quote in this connexion the beads made from fossil crinoids from the limestone of the same region found in Middle Bronze Age barrows in Wilts. In both instances we have examples of trade through the Frome Gap, the importance of which was demonstrated by Crawford, and which may even have served in the transport of the Presely stones, shipped from Pembrokeshire across the Bristol Channel to Brean Down, and thence by an overland route via Bowls Barrow to Stonehenge.[1] A reflex of such trade from the west is suggested by the objects of Wessex flint from the Glamorgan seaplain, and the evidence of further connexions recently brought to light from the barrows at Breach Farm (with a 'Wessex Culture' grave group)[2] and Coity,[3] where the marcasite 'cup' from one of the barrows is not only of chalk-land origin in material, but is paralleled by the stone 'cups' from Colt Hoare's Barrow 4 at Upton Lovell, Wilts.[4]

Fig. 6. Spearhead from old military trench on Launceston Down (¼)

Late Bronze Age. The excavations throw interesting light on the Late Bronze Age in Dorset. In the first place, we have the apparently contemporary use in a restricted area of urnfields (Launceston Down near Austen's five barrows: see p. 50 above), secondary multiple interments in earlier barrows (B 9) and primary burials in barrows of various types and sizes (Austen's barrows on Launceston Down, B 1, B 3, B 8, and B 10); the burials being in all instances save one associated with urns of Late Bronze Age B (Deverel-Rimbury) type.

The urnfield, the existence of which is inferred from the three Late Bronze Age vessels exposed by the old military trench on Launceston Down, calls for no particular comment save for its association with the five low barrows grouped by or within it, which Austen's excavations of 1864 showed to be of Late Bronze

[1] Cf. *Proc. Prehist. Soc.*, iv (1938), 54.
[2] *Ibid.*, 107 ff.
[3] *Archaeologia*, lxxxvii, 129 ff.; cup on pl. xlvii, 3.
[4] *Ancient Wilts.*, i, 75.

Age date themselves, and which should be compared with B 1 of the present excavations.

The vessels recovered from the sides of the trench have been mentioned above (p. 50). All had the upper portion broken away, and one (pl. IX, *d*) has raised vertical ribs running down the body. Of the other two, one was featureless and plain, of coarse ware, and the other was of the remarkably thin ware found and commented upon at Latch Farm (e.g. Latch Farm no. 56), though its shape approximated more to no. 6 of the same site. It was fragmentary, and in bad condition from partial exposure in the side of the trench, and among the cremated bones from within it was a fragment from near the tip of a bronze spearhead, which had also been burnt (fig. 6).

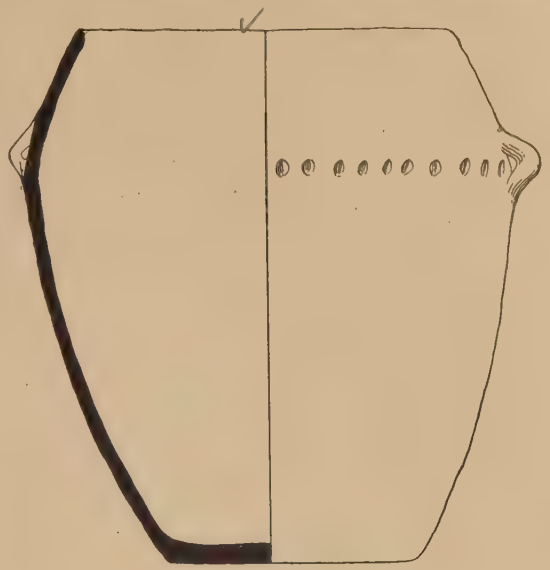


Fig. 7. Urn with secondary cremation from B 9 ($\frac{1}{4}$)

The spearhead fragment is of more than usual interest. Small though it is, there seems no doubt that it belongs to a class of small leaf-shaped and looped spears which carry on the native Middle Bronze Age tradition. These spears have been discussed by Mr. C. F. C. Hawkes in connexion with the discovery of a typical example on the Late Bronze Age habitation site at Thorny Down, Wilts.:[1] a well-known example comes from the South Lodge Late Bronze Age enclosure excavated by Pitt-Rivers,[2] and in the illustration of the Crichel fragment (fig. 6) it has been superimposed on an outline of this South Lodge example, and it will be seen how exact the correspondence is.

The secondary cremation burials in B 9 are in no way remarkable: small sherds of gritty textured Late Bronze Age ware occurred with several, while one was associated with an inverted urn of biconical form with two lug-handles and finger-tip impressions along the carination (fig. 7). Exact parallels are not easy to find; Abercromby, LXXXV, no. 368, from Little Piddle, Dorset, suggests the type, but in the Crichel example the Middle Bronze Age biconical tradition shows a strong persistence. The possible significance of the double handles is commented on below.

The cremated burial in B 10 was contained in a very large urn standing upright in a hole in the chalk and apparently covered originally by a wooden

[1] *Proc. Prehist. Soc.*, VI (1940). [2] *Excavations in Cranborne Chase*, IV, pl. 238.

slab. The urn (fig. 8) has applied ribs with finger-tip ornament in the well-known bucket-urn style, while inside the base is an applied design of intersecting and crescentic bars, which, while unique in its particular pattern, falls into line with the large series of Deverel-Rimbury urns with cruciform or star-shaped internal mouldings on the base. These were discussed and listed by Dr. Clay (*Wilts. Arch. Mag.*, xliii, 317–18), and to his list may now be added one from Newbury, Berks. (*Proc. Newbury Field Club*, vii (1936), 180), and one from Latch Farm, Christchurch (no. 50).

Fig. 8. Late Bronze Age urn with decorated base from B 10 ($\frac{1}{8}$)

By the urn was a square shallow pit, which seems comparable with the 'ritual pits' described below from B 8 and B 3. The mound of the barrow was riddled with rabbit-burrows, destroying any internal structural features, but it appears to have been wholly of rubble and earth.

B 1 was a very small low mound, covering cremation burials, one in a central pit associated with the burnt fragments of an urn, and the other deposited immediately above this a short time after, and consisting of a fragmentary urn with remains of a cremated burial. The barrow was surrounded by a narrow well-cut ditch.

B 3 and B 8 are Late Bronze Age barrow-burials of similar type. In both instances the burial was beneath a central cairn of flint nodules —a feature shared by the Middle Bronze Age barrow B 9—and surrounded by a ditch. In B 3 there was beneath the cairn a small shallow oval pit, at the eastern end of which was a cinerary urn and associated vessel, surrounded by burnt matter and capped by a slab of Purbeck limestone. The remainder of the pit was filled with chalk rubble. The urns (fig. 9) are of simple types common to the Deverel-Rimbury province, and the practice of placing accessory vessels has been noted elsewhere, especially at Latch Farm.

This feature of the insertion of the cinerary urn to one side of a pit is more strikingly demonstrated in B 8, where beneath the flint cairn, itself covering a low turf mound, was a very large pit, 1·6 ft. deep and 7·5 ft. in diameter, filled with chalk rubble and earth, with a cinerary urn inserted in a circular hole cut two-thirds into its edge and one-third into its filling. This deliberate making and refilling of a pit must have been a ritual act of some kind, and the smaller

pit in B 3, only partly used for the deposition of the urn, and the detached shallow pit in B 10, must also be examples of a rite which suggests comparison with the ritual 'empty pits' beneath earlier barrows both of Bronze Age and of Neolithic times.

The cinerary urn from B 8 is remarkable, for it does not fall in with the local Deverel-Rimbury series, but is quite distinctively Cornish in type. Its general type is that of Abercromby 364, 365, 366, 366*a* (all from Cornwall), and its presence in Cranborne Chase indicates the persistence into Late Bronze Age times of a connexion between the two areas which goes back to Neolithic times. The grit of the Crichel pot is the local flint, and so it is not itself an import, but it must have been made in Wessex by a potter working in the Cornish tradition. Further evidence of this connexion between Cornwall and Wessex is afforded by the handled urns from Hengistbury Head Barrow II (*Excavations at Hengistbury Head*, pl. IV, i) and Winterslow, Wilts.: the handles of the biconical vessel from our B 9 may have a similar inspiration. In his publication of the Winterslow example (*Wilts. Arch. Mag.*, xlviii, 177) Dr. Stone comments on this Cornish connexion, and quotes an unpublished vessel from Sturminster Marshall, Dorset, in the British Museum as in the same style. Sea-borne trade and perhaps actual interchange of population (suggested by the local fabric of the urns) seem to be implied.

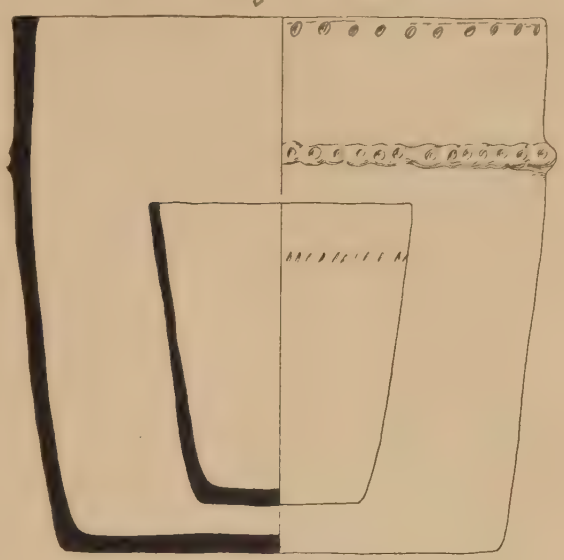


Fig. 9. Urn and accessory vessel from B 3 (¼)

III. Detailed Description of Barrows

Barrow 1 (fig. 10). This small barrow, only 22 ft. in diameter and 1 ft. 7 in. in height above the datum, was one of a group of three, the other two being numbers 2 and 3 of this report. The mound was composed of earth and rubble and flints, and surrounded by a well-cut ditch of V section and varying from 1 ft. to 1·8 ft. deep (pl. V, *c*).

The primary burial pit at the centre was oval and slightly squared and had an average depth of 1 ft. (pl. V, *a*). The bottom of the pit was irregularly cut. This pit had been filled with ashes, with a few burnt bone fragments and sherds of a Late Bronze Age pot which had evidently been burnt after breaking

(pl. v, *b*). Above this pit when filled another Late Bronze Age pot (fig. 11) had been placed, containing cremated bones, being half over the solid chalk and half over the pit, the contents of which had subsided and this had resulted in the fracture of the base and a unilateral collapse of the vessel, of which only the base and a few inches of the side remained, immediately below the turf.

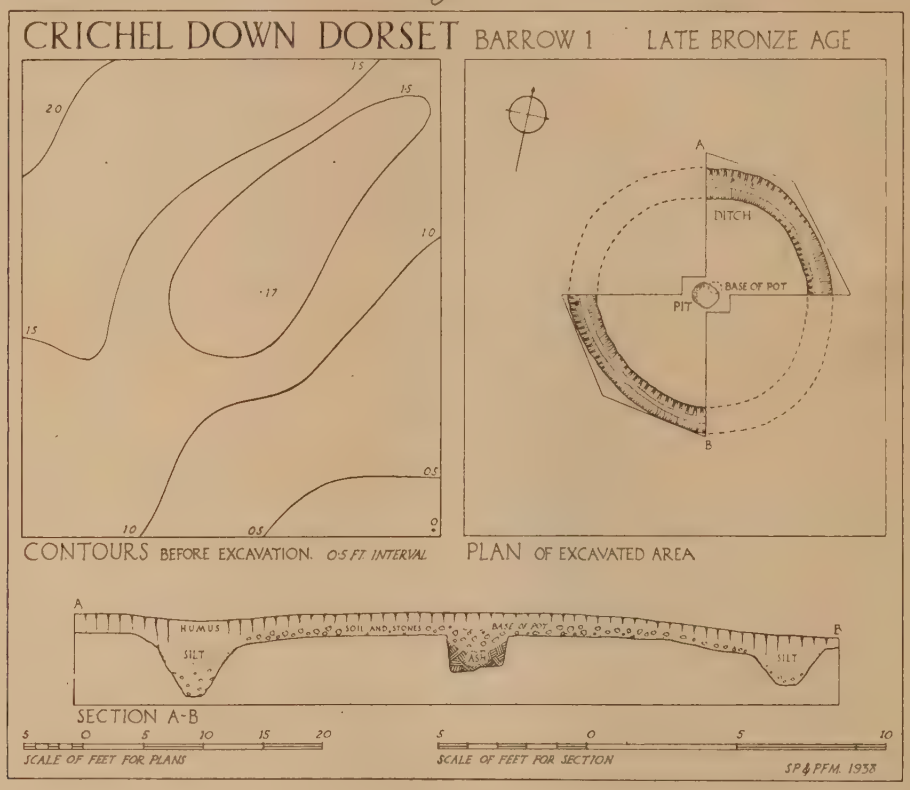


Fig. 10

It is unlikely that any very considerable time had elapsed between the deposition of the two urns. Both belong to common Late Bronze Age types, and the primary urn, with its notches along the rim and on an applied band round its girth, can be compared to Latch Farm no. 38.[1] The barrow was excavated by removing two opposing quadrants to obtain two cross-sections at right angles. It was later found necessary to remove an additional small area round the central pit. In this, as in other instances on Crichel Down, it was found that an existing slight rise in the ground had been appropriated for the site of the barrow.

Barrow 2 (fig. 12). The second barrow to be excavated presented a very much more complicated plan and section. As before, the barrow was excavated

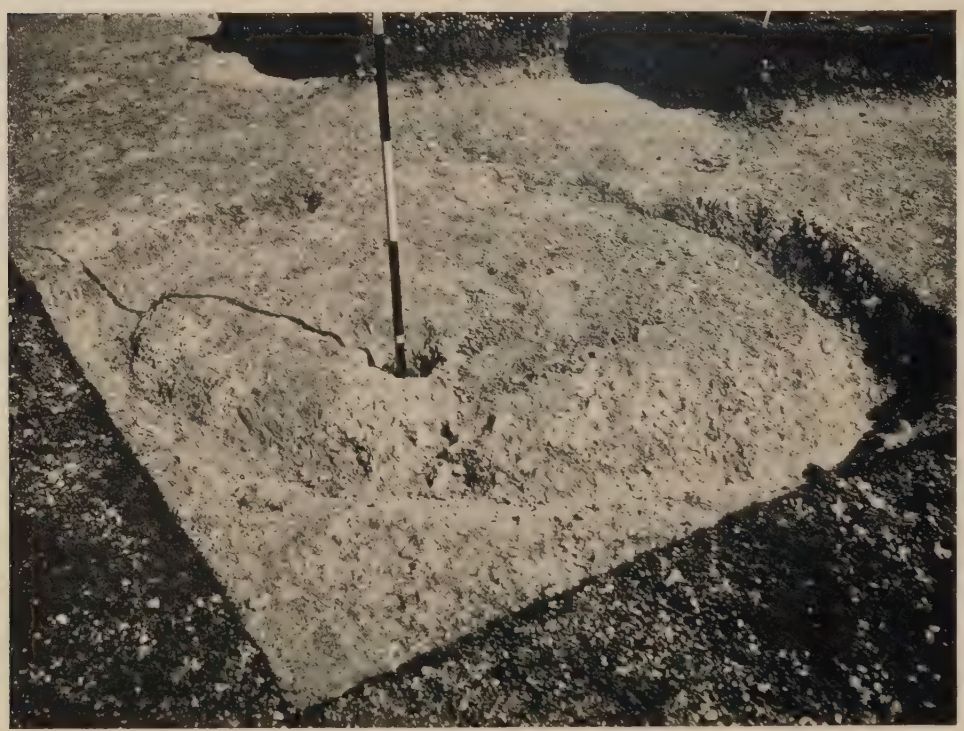
[1] *Proc. Prehist. Soc.*, iv, 1 (1938), 180, fig. 7.

a. B 1. Central pit completely cleared

b. B 1. Central pit with filling-in section and sherds of collapsed cinerary urn above

c. B 1 in foreground as excavated; behind to right, B 2 in early stages of excavation. Hyde Hill Plantation is on the sky-line above B 2

a. B 2. General view from east, showing causeway of main ditch and the inner bedding-trench



b. B 2. Detail of inner bedding-trench from the west

a. B 2. Inner bedding-trench during excavation, showing split bones *in situ* on each side of entrance and cremation within

b. B 2. Inner bedding-trench completely excavated

a. B 5. Forcibly contracted skeleton (scale in feet)

b. B 5. Skeleton mainly removed, but with pelvis and femora left *in situ* to show forcible dislocation

c. B 6. Extended burials of three individuals

by the removal of opposing quadrants, but considerable additional excavation was found necessary.

Roughly 37 ft. in diameter and just over 1 ft. in height above the surrounding turf, the barrow was entirely composed of earthy rubble with a slight admixture of chalk. A horseshoe ditch varying from 4 ft. to 7 ft. in width at the top and averaging 2·3 ft. in depth below the solid chalk, and of square section, enclosed the mound, with a causeway 6 ft. across between the two ends of the ditch on the north-east (pl. VI, *a*). The area round this causeway was examined for post-holes with no result. Within this outer horseshoe ditch another smaller one was discovered enclosing an area 7 ft. across. Its entrance, which may have been intended roughly to agree with that of the outer ditch, opened a little to the south of east and was 2·5 ft. wide (pl. VII, *b*). This small ditch varied little from an average of 1·3 ft. across the top, and 0·8 ft. in depth. It was again nearly square in section, but on close examination traces of circular depressions were noticed in the chalk floor of this ditch, each about 0·5 ft. in diameter and spaced approximately 3 ft. one from the other, and it therefore became apparent that some form of wooden uprights had been placed there and that the inner horseshoe was a palisade trench (pl. IX, *a*). The filling of the trench confirmed this idea, being of rammed chalk and not the loose material of the mound.

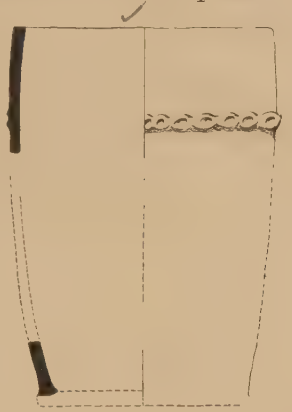


Fig. 11. Primary urn from B 1 ($\frac{1}{8}$)

A ritual deposit was found, an ox radius having been longitudinally split in two and the pieces placed symmetrically one each side of the causeway in the ends of the ditch (pl, VII, *a*).

Inside the inner ditch, and in the centre of it, was a cremation, placed on the natural chalk. A post-hole 0·6 ft. in depth and 0·8 ft. in diameter filled with fine earth was found 1·5 ft. north-west of this central cremation (pl. VI, *b*). Just outside the causeway of the palisade trench was another cremation, *Cremation 2*, placed in a slight scoop in the natural chalk.

The sequence of construction in this barrow appeared to be as follows: the inner structure consisting of wooden posts set in the palisade trench and presumably enclosing *Cremation 1* from the first must have existed (if only for a few hours) as an individual monument. The centre of the barrow is in the neighbourhood of *Cremation 2* which was covered with the turf and top-soil removed in beginning the outer ditch. This material was placed over and around *Cremation 2* in such a way that it overlapped the area of the timber monument. It is therefore unlikely that any intervening structure existed between the posts unless by that time the timber monument was in an advanced stage of decay.

Finally the chalk rubble from the rest of the ditch was piled up to form the barrow, which may or may not have left the timber uprights visible.

The presence of the turfy soil in place of packed chalk rubble in the palisade trench at the south side of its entrance, and the depression in the turf mound

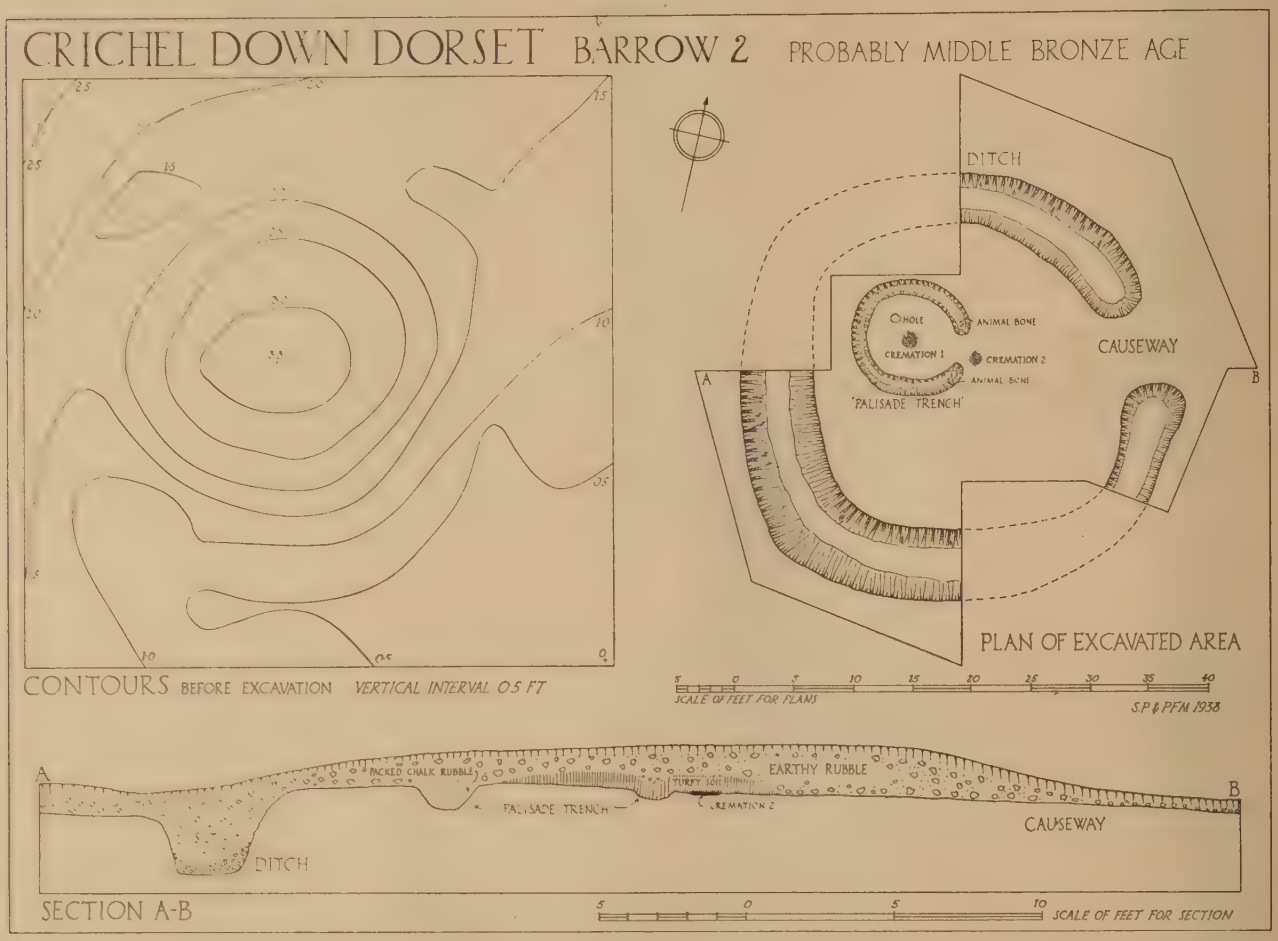


Fig. 12

above it, suggest that this was caused by a collapse occasioned by the rotting of the timber upright occupying this position. There were no finds with the exception of a fragment of a collared urn which was in the material of the mound near the centre of the barrow.

Barrow 3 (fig. 13). This measured after excavation 38 ft. in diameter from the outside of the surrounding ditch which enclosed an area 30 ft. across and roughly circular. The ditch varied a little in width but averaged about 4 ft. and the depth was 2 ft. below the natural chalk.

A cairn of flints 1 ft. high and 14 ft. across covered the central burial pit,

and round this and between it and the ditch the chalky rubble obtained from the ditch was placed. It was presumed that the turf line which was well preserved under the flints was present but invisible under the rest of the mound, though it may have been stripped. The central pit 2·4 ft. below the chalk had

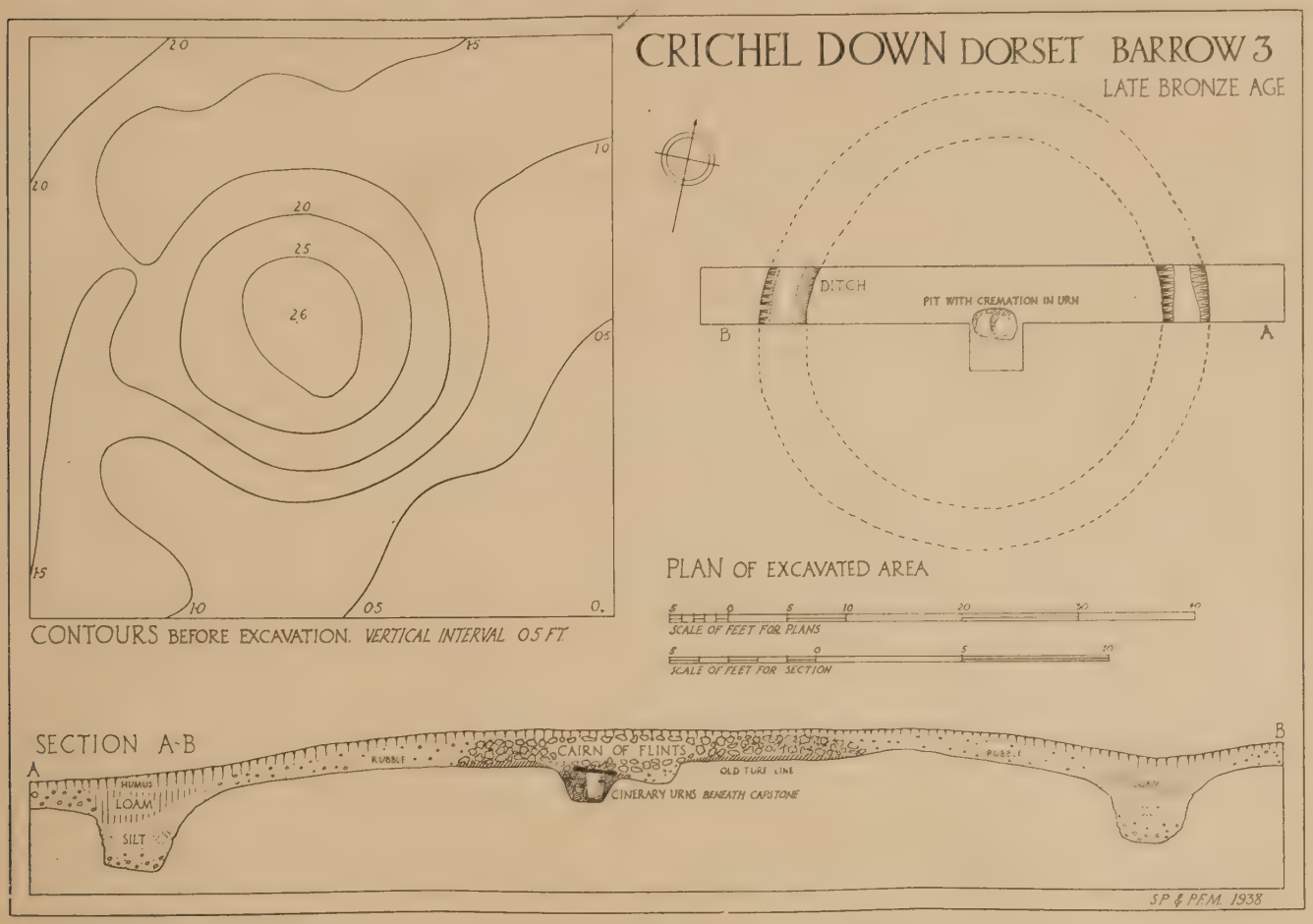


Fig. 13

been made 0·6 ft. shallower on the west. The deeper part of the pit measured 2·1 ft. across at the chalk level and was roughly squared at the bottom and filled with charcoal and ash, and contained a cinerary urn of Late Bronze Age type with an accessory vessel (fig. 9), both covered by a capstone of Purbeck limestone.

Barrow 4. A low circular mound 15 ft. in diameter was found to have an irregular hole near the centre. It contained the normal material of the mound and there were no finds, and in fact it evidently deserves Warne's title of a *tumulus inanis.*

Barrow 5 (fig. 14). The mound before excavation appeared to be about 25 ft. in diameter, but on excavation the shallow U-shaped ditch only 2·4 ft. wide and 0·7 ft. deep was found to enclose an area 22 ft. across.

The mound, which was little over 1 ft. in elevation was composed of flints and soil, and covered a grave centrally placed and filled with yellow clay and

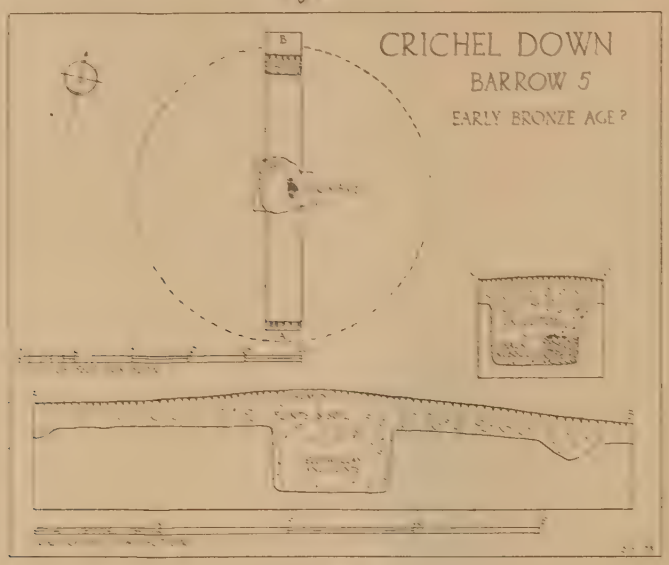


Fig. 14

flints, with a platform of chalk rubble on the east. The grave was oval, measuring 5 ft. along the long axis and 4 ft. from east to west. It was squarely cut with a flat bottom, and 2·5 ft. deep below natural chalk level. A crouched skeleton was placed on the platform of chalk rubble, which originally must have covered the whole floor of the grave, as it is difficult to believe it would not have collapsed if left unsupported. The western half of the grave had evidently been plundered and any grave-goods which might have been placed with the burial were removed at that time. It was most fortunate that the plunderers had missed the skeleton, which proved to be one of considerable interest.

The skeleton was placed eccentrically to the grave and was much flexed. It was lying on the left side, with the face looking east. The right arm was flexed until the hand was on the shoulder, and the right leg wrenched into such a position that the knee came in front of the face. As may be seen from the photograph (pl. VIII, *a*) the left knee was in the mouth, i.e. the lower jaw lay under the knee joint; the left talus was under the skull; and the right half of the broken pelvis lay beneath the elbow of the right arm. The acetabulum was therefore far removed from the head of the right femur (pl. VIII, *b*).

The impossibility of assuming this much flexed position in normal circumstances is evident; there is but one explanation to account for it: the skeleton must have been bound up so tightly that some of the bones became disarticulated. The presence of the detached talus beneath the skull suggests that the half decomposed body may have been placed in a bag.

Barrow 6 (fig. 15). This barrow was of very slight elevation with a maximum of 0·8 ft. of soil above the solid chalk. Enclosing an area approximately

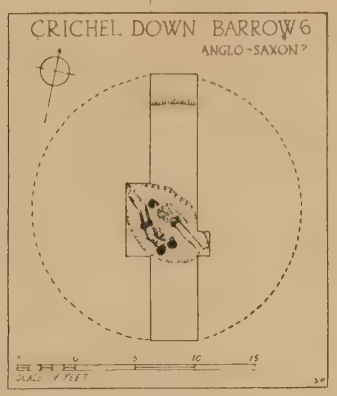


Fig. 15

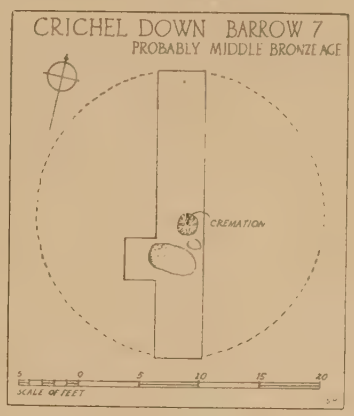


Fig. 16

20 ft. across was a vague trace of a ditch which was only really visible on the north. The material of the barrow was largely scraped-up soil and flints. Three skeletons lay in a shallow irregular scraping: one on its face with its head to the north-west, the other two on their sides with heads to the south-east, and slightly overlapping the first skeleton (pl. VIII, *c*). There were no grave-goods, but a sherd of beaker and some coarse gritty sherds were found at the north end of the cutting.

Although there is no actual evidence for date, most probably these were Saxon burials.

Barrow 7 (fig. 16). The mound was only a few inches high and measured about 18 ft. across before excavation, being placed on a slight slope. There was no surrounding ditch. Three roughly scraped-out pits were in the position indicated on the plan. That on the south contained a few fragments of unburnt bone. The centre of the three pits was sterile, and that to the north contained a cremation and in the soil around it were the fragmentary remains of a cinerary urn. The date is probably Middle Bronze Age.

Barrow 8 (fig. 17). The ditch enclosed an area 45 ft. across, and although only sectioned in two places was visible all round the mound. The ditch varied a little in depth and was very irregularly hollowed out, being only about 4·5 ft. wide and less than a foot in depth below the chalk. Once again the natural rise of the

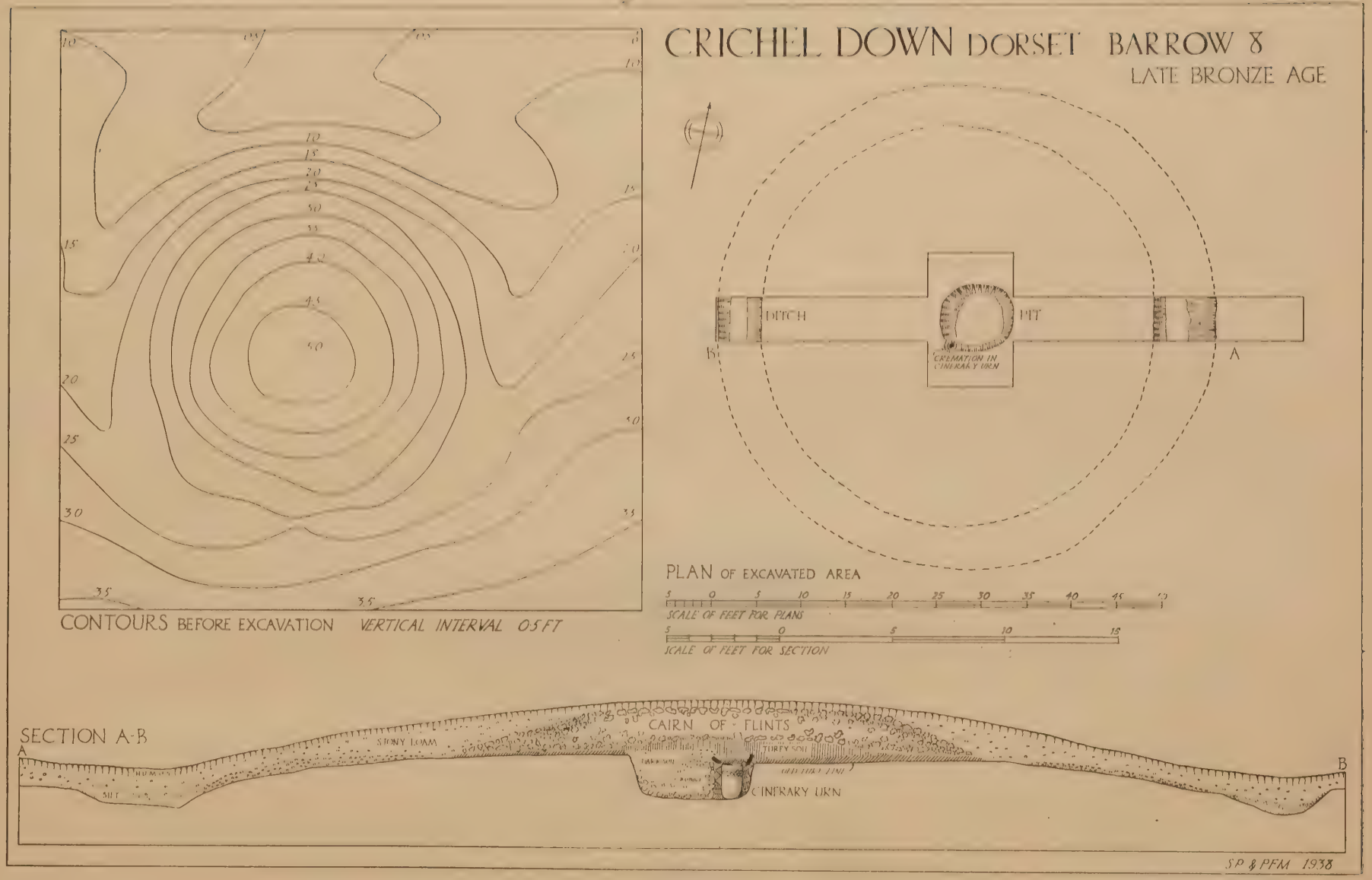

CRICHEL DOWN DORSET BARROW 8
LATE BRONZE AGE
DITCH
PIT
CREMATION IN CINERARY URN
A
B
CONTOURS BEFORE EXCAVATION VERTICAL INTERVAL 0·5 FT
PLAN OF EXCAVATED AREA
SCALE OF FEET FOR PLANS
SCALE OF FEET FOR SECTION
SECTION A-B
CAIRN OF FLINTS
STONY LOAM
TURFY SOIL
CINERARY URN
SP & PFM 1938

Fig. 17

ground was used to advantage. The section of this barrow was surprisingly similar to that of barrow 3.

Almost centrally placed was a large pit 7·5 ft. across and very roughly circular, and 1·6 ft. deep. The whole of this pit, with the exception of a small part of it on the south-west, was sterile, and filled with tips of chalk rubble and dark soil, and its function is not possible to guess. On the south-west, partly cut into the filling of the large pit and partly into the solid chalk was a small circular hole a little less than 2 ft. in diameter and filled with black earth. It contained the primary burial of a tall cinerary urn of Late Bronze Age paste and date, but showing in its ornamentation close relationship with the Cornish Middle Bronze Age cinerary urns with small slashes in imitation of cord ornament (fig. 18). Several large slabs of tabular flint were placed round the urn to support it. Turfy soil covered the pit and over this again was a cairn of flints 22·7 ft. across and 1·6 ft. high. As in barrow 3 the turf line was clearly visible below this cairn, but not under the rest of the mound which was composed of stony loam and represented some of the material obtained from the ditch, supplemented with scraped-up material obtained from elsewhere.

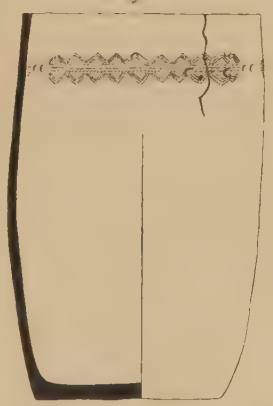


Fig. 18. Late Bronze Age cinerary urn from B 8 ($\frac{1}{8}$)

Although it would appear at first sight that the urn may have been placed in a pre-existing inhumation grave, it is difficult to believe that so complete a removal of a skeleton could have been achieved, and that in such a way that no mark was left in the unusually clear section. It is therefore more probable that the two features are roughly contemporary, though in actual sequence the small pit for the urn was dug after the larger pit was filled in.

Barrow 9 (fig. 19). Nearly 40 ft. across before excavation and with a maximum height of 2·1 ft. above the solid chalk, this barrow was first trenched from east to west with a 5-ft. cutting, and later other cuttings were amalgamated with this. As in barrow 2 the ditch was horseshoe shaped with a wide causeway a little to the south of east and 15·6 ft. across. There were no signs of any post-holes on this area.

The main ditch averaged 4·5 ft. across at the top and about 2 ft. at the bottom, which was flat. The depth varied from 0·9 ft. to 1·5 ft., which it attained on the north-west. Within this outer ditch and in a position best seen on the plan was a small trench only a few inches deep on the east, and merely a scoop on the west, and this was cut through on the north-east by the outer ditch. Its use, if not as a marking-out ditch, is difficult to imagine, and if it was intended for this purpose its use was ignored (pl. x, *b*).

The primary burial, which lay almost in the centre of the barrow, consisted of a large pile of cremated bones placed in a slight scoop in the chalk. Several secondary cremations were discovered, in one case with a Late Bronze Age pot (pl. IX, *c* and fig. 7), and one inhumation burial of later but unknown date placed

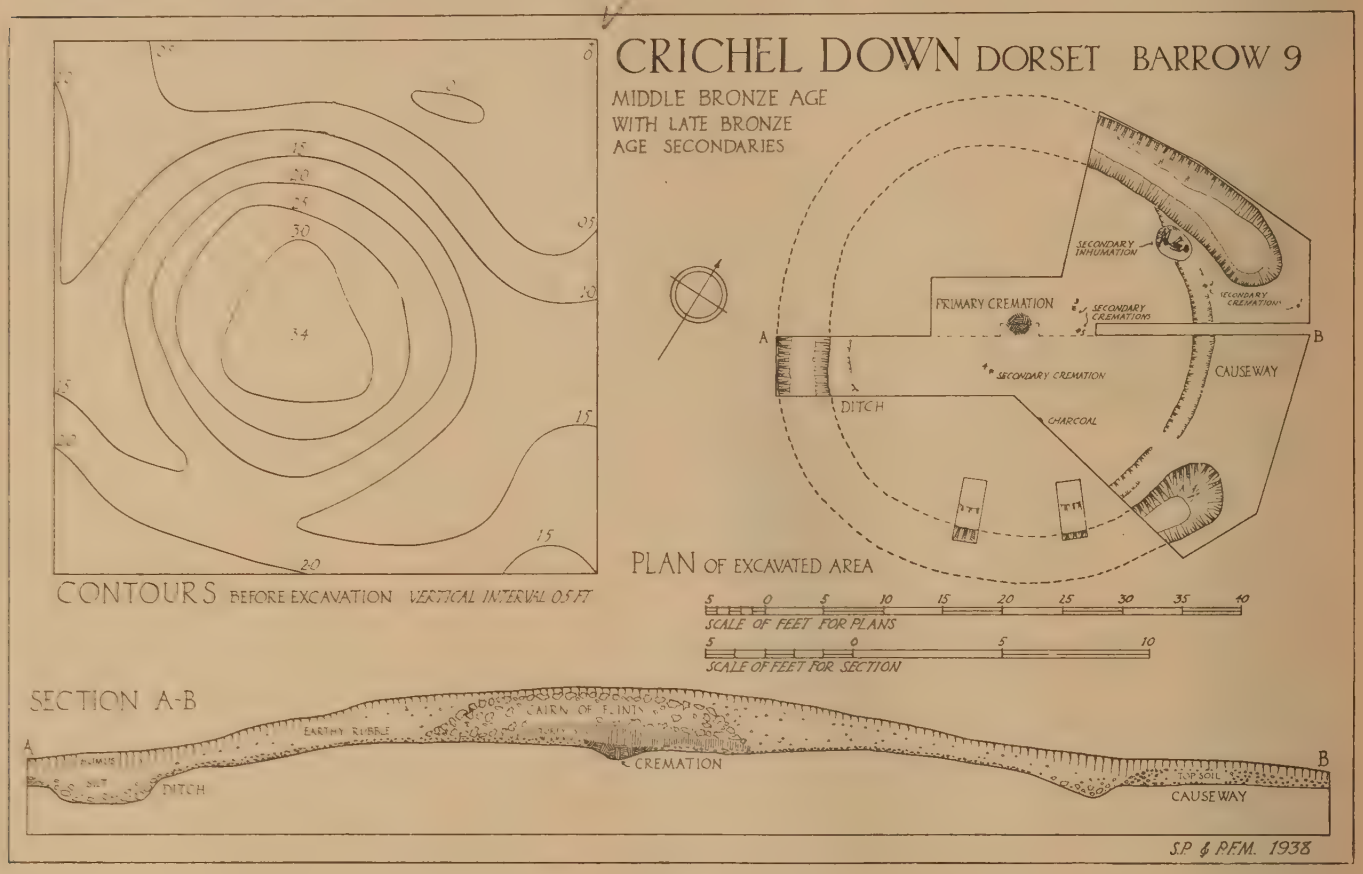


Fig. 19

in an oval pit on the north-east near to the ditch (pl. x, *a*). On analogy with other barrows with horseshoe ditches the date of the primary burial would appear to be Middle Bronze Age.

Barrow 10 (fig. 20). It was not possible, owing to the very extensive damage done by rabbits in this barrow, to obtain very much information from it.

The mound was 55 ft. across and 4·3 ft. high, above the natural chalk. The ditch had been cut 2 ft. below the chalk and had a square section. This was filled with chalk silt and earth.

To the west of the centre point was a square hole 0·5 ft. in depth and 3·8 ft. along each side. This was filled with material largely derived from the surface and rabbit scrapes, but was undoubtedly an original feature and comparable to

a. B 2. Detail of bedding-trench, showing traces of wooden uprights on bottom

b. B 10. Cinerary urn *in situ*

c. B 9. Late Bronze Age secondary cremation in inverted urn

d. Late Bronze Age cinerary urn *in situ* exposed by military trench on Launceston Down

a. B 9. Detail of secondary inhumation

b. B 9. General view, showing outer ditch and causeway, inner minor ditch, and secondary inhumation

a. B 11. General view, showing double ditches, central grave-shaft (marked by ranging-pole), and 'disturbed' subsoil

b. B 11. The double ditches

a. B 11. Pit containing Beaker occupation material cut into by inner ditch, with half filling removed

b. B 11. Pit completely cleared

the pits in barrows 3 and 8. At the centre itself was a circular pit containing a very large Deverel-Rimbury urn almost complete (fig. 8). This had been deposited upright and contained cremated bones, and over its mouth a thin layer of carbonized material suggested a wooden cover (pl. IX, *b*).

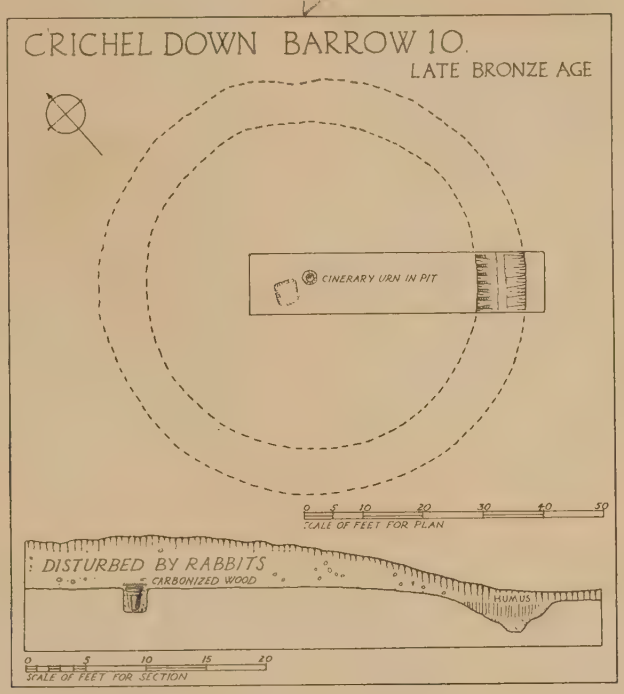


Fig. 20

Barrow 11 (pl. XIV). This very large barrow, 81 ft. across and 3·2 ft. in height before excavation, was found on examination to cover two circular ditches a little less than 5 ft. apart. The outer of these, which underlay the extreme edge of the mound, was filled with fine silt which would represent weathered material from its bank. The inner ditch, which in most places was deeper and more carefully cut than the outer, was filled with silt alternating with loam, and the stratification of this suggests a predominance of silting from the inner side (pl. XI, *b*). At the section shown on the north an earlier pit, containing fragments of several B beakers, had been cut through, and the various beaker sherds (fig. 2) and occupation soil derived from it had found their way to the bottom of the inner ditch-filling. The complete disappearance of the banks which must have accompanied these ditches is difficult to account for, particularly in the case of the outer ditch.

The mound of the barrow was almost entirely composed of fine loam, measuring 28 ft. across, although the earthy rubble on the skirts of the mound

may represent derived material originally above the loam. This loam presumably represents some of the turf stripped from the ditches. Around and partly under this loam mound was an area of disturbed subsoil forming a ring about 7 ft. wide, suggesting a region of open ground between the inner bank and the turf mound in its original compact form (pl. XI, *a*).

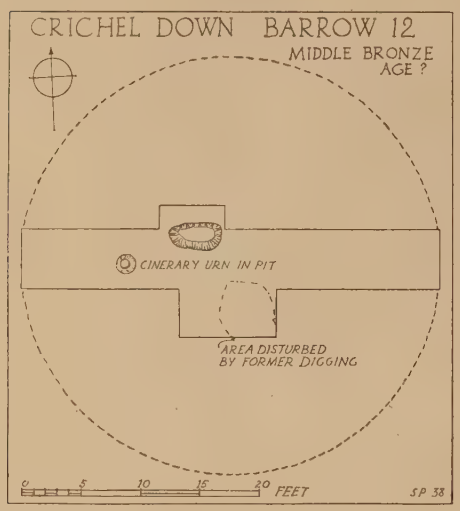


Fig. 21

At the centre was an oval grave nearly 7 ft. across its long axis from east to west, and 5 ft. from north to south. Its depth reached nearly 9 ft. below the natural chalk, and it was largely filled with loose chalk rubble overlying a crouched burial at the bottom. The skeleton was lying on its left side and with the head to the west. The right arm was holding the left a little below the shoulder, and the left arm was flexed over it to touch the left shoulder. At the feet were placed the humerus and radius of a nearly adult pig, the only grave-goods (pl. XIII, *b*).

A quantity of beaker sherds was scattered throughout the mound, and the date of the barrow is presumably Early Bronze Age (pl. XII).

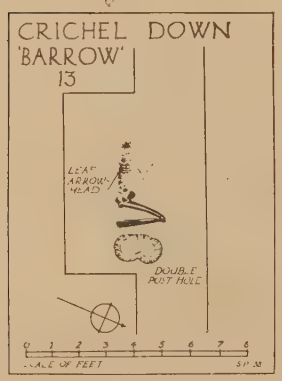


Fig. 22

Barrow 12 (fig. 21). This was a low mound, 1·6 ft. in height above the solid chalk, and 35 ft. in diameter. On excavation it was found to consist of a cairn of earth and stones, with no ditch and the central area had been disturbed by digging in the past so that any interment in this region must have been removed. An oval pit, 1 ft. deep, was found near the centre containing nothing but the material of the cairn, while eccentrically placed, and only 8 ft. within the edge of the mound, was a circular pit, 1 ft. deep and 1·5 ft. in diameter, containing black soil and a cinerary urn inverted over burnt bones (fig. 5).

Barrow 13 (fig. 22). This barrow consisted of a low natural knoll thinly covered with earth and stones to a maximum of 1·3 ft. above solid chalk. The apparent diameter was some 40 ft. Near the centre a crouched burial lay on its left side, with an orientation of 281°, in a very poor state of preservation. The skeleton rested on a layer of flint nodules on the old surface, 0·3 ft. above the solid chalk, and at its feet were two intersecting post-holes, about 1 ft. in diameter, with depths of 0·7 ft. and 0·9 ft. below solid chalk (pl. XIII, *c*). These contained

a. B 17. Crouched skeleton with beaker (at back) in chalk-cut grave

b. B 11. Crouched skeleton, with pigs' bones at feet, at bottom of nine-foot grave-shaft

c. B 13. Remains of crouched burial with double post-hole at feet

d. B 14. Crouched burial with B i beaker

fine earth, but no artifacts. Among the ribs of the skeleton was a leaf-shaped flint arrowhead (fig. 23, 3).

Fig. 23. 1 and 2 from B 14, 3 from B 13, and 4 from B 7 ($\frac{1}{2}$)

Barrow 14 (fig. 24). This small barrow was 17 ft. in diameter and not more than 0·5 ft. high above the surrounding turf, and 0·9 ft. above solid chalk. It was composed of large flints and covered a nearly central grave-pit, roughly D-shaped and measuring 6 ft. by 4·5 ft. A secondary cremation had been inserted in a conical hole 1·5 ft. in diameter and 1 ft. deep which cut partly into the edge of the grave and partly into its filling. The grave was found to be 2·5 ft. deep, the upper foot of the filling being yellow earth and stones, the lower part clean chalk rubble. On the floor of the grave lay a skeleton on its left side, the legs lightly flexed, the left arm extended until the hand touched the left knee, the right arm flexed back with the hand on the shoulder. The skull was found to have been trephined in the left occipital region before death, the roundel of bone detached having been placed back in position at the time of

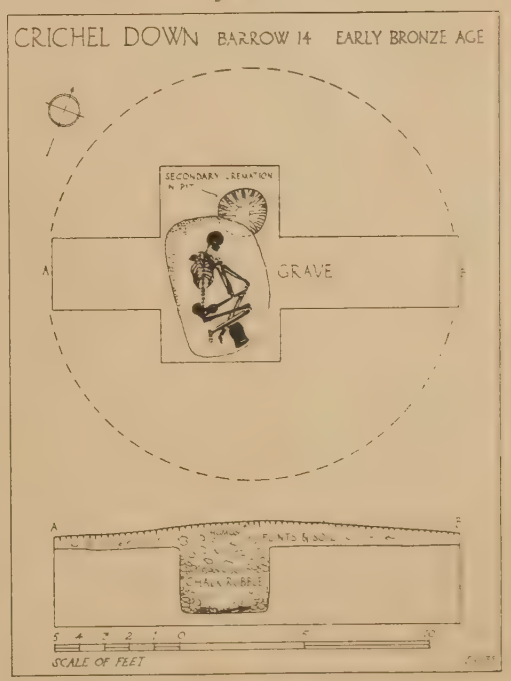


Fig. 24

burial. Against the right tibia was a beaker of type B i lying on its side, the base touching the leg (pl. XIII, *d*, and fig. 25). A worked flint flake was also found

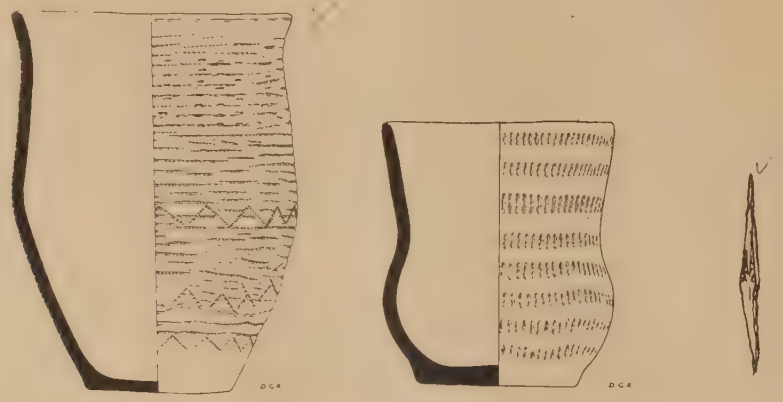


Fig. 25. Beakers from B 14 (left) and B 17 ($\frac{1}{4}$), and bronze awl from B 17 ($\frac{1}{1}$)

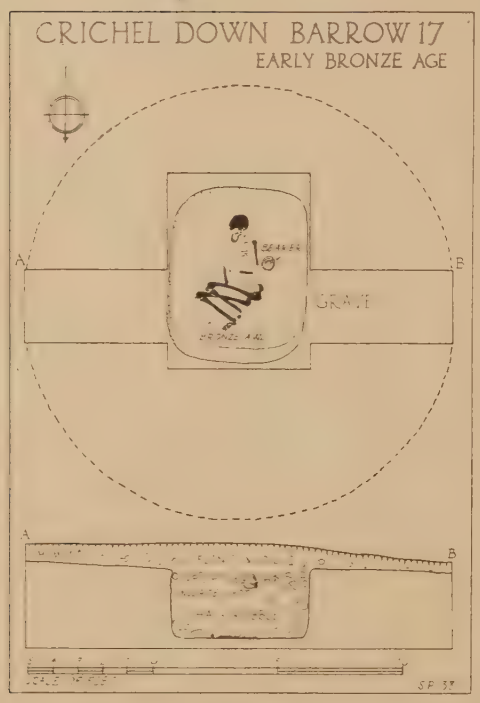


Fig. 26

near the feet, on the floor of the grave, and a roughly worked and partially burnt flint pick was among the rubble filling of the grave (fig. 23, 1 and 2).

Barrow 15. This very small mound of earth and stones, 12 ft. in diameter, and 1·1 ft. high above solid chalk, was contiguous with barrow 14. It covered a cremation in a conical hole 1·4 ft. in diameter and 1·4 ft. deep, which lay eccentrically to the apparent mound. There were no associated finds.

Barrow 16. This barrow was 25 ft. in diameter and 1·2 ft. high at the maximum above solid chalk, and consisted of earth and stones. It covered a central oval grave-pit, 7·5 ft. by 5 ft. and 3 ft. deep. The filling was of mixed earth and chalk rubble, and contained fragmentary bones of a human skeleton, while among the stones of the upper part of the filling was a very small degenerate beaker of type A (fig. 3). The circumstances strongly suggest that the grave had been plundered in ancient times, but had originally contained a beaker inhumation.

Barrow 17 (fig. 26). This barrow was 18 ft. in diameter and rose to a maximum height of 1 ft. above the solid chalk. It consisted of stones and earth

and covered a large sub-rectangular grave-pit, 7 ft. by 6 ft. and 3 ft. deep. Into the filling of this pit a vessel probably of the Middle Bronze Age had been inserted in a pocket of dark soil (fig. 4). The grave had a flat bottom and a ledge, 0·5 ft. high and 1 ft. wide, along its northern side. On the bottom lay a skeleton on its right side, the legs lightly flexed and the upper part of the body in a very poor state of preservation, but apparently the left forearm lay across the stomach region and the right arm was flexed. At the feet was a bronze awl (fig. 25), and behind the back and touching the left elbow was a beaker of type A placed upright and collapsed into fragments (pl. XIII, *a*, and fig. 25).

Barrow 18. This barrow was 25 ft. in diameter and 1 ft. high above solid chalk, and consisted of a cairn of flints and earth. Nearly in the centre was a circular hole 1·2 ft. in diameter and 0·8 ft. deep, flat-bottomed and containing a cremation associated with a calcite double-space-bead.

APPENDIX I

Spectrographic Analysis of Bronze Awl from Barrow 17, by PROFESSOR C. H. DESCH.

The specimen was labelled 'Crichel B. 17. Bronze awl near foot of skeleton'. Two fragments were examined, using a condensed spark with the Hilger Quartz Spectrograph. The upper electrode was a specimen of pure copper. The samples appeared to be similar; the spectrograms showed the presence of the following impurities:

Tin	xxxx	Arsenic	xxx
Silver	xxxx	Antimony	xx
Nickel	xx	Silicon	xx
Bismuth	xx	Lead, zinc, iron	—

xxxx indicates element present in analytical quantity.
xxx „ heavy trace present.
xx „ trace present.
— „ not detected.

APPENDIX II

Report on a Calcite Spectacled Spacing Bead from Barrow 18, by J. F. S. STONE, *D.Phil.*

This very interesting spacing bead (fig. 27) is only semi-transparent and is of pale yellowish colour. It was at first thought to have been made of glass, but subsequently it was found, from its solubility with effervescence in dilute hydrochloric acid, to be made of calcite. This was confirmed by a determination of its specific gravity (2·68). Calcite consists of calcium carbonate and occurs in nature in a variety of crystalline forms of which colourless transparent Iceland Spar and the semi-transparent stalactites of varying colours are well known. It is most probable that the bead was made locally from a piece of the latter material which is readily available, e.g. in the Mendip caves.

Although this is the first recorded instance of a calcite bead having been found in Great Britain, two small annular beads of the same material but slightly orange in colour were found with other beads in a Middle Bronze Age urn by Dr. N. Gray Hill on Stockbridge Down, Stockbridge, three months prior to the present find (*Antiq. Journ.*, xx, 42). Superficially they all resemble yellow glass and it is therefore not at all improbable that certain beads found in Bronze Age contexts in Great Britain, and described as being of yellow glass, really consisted of calcite (stalactite) coloured slightly yellow by the presence of small quantities of iron as an impurity. Thus we may note amongst others the fragment of 'yellow glass' from Pensthorpe, Norfolk (*Arch. Journ.*, vi (1849), 405), and the 'yellow glass' beads found by Stukeley in barrow Amesbury G. 44 (*Ancient Wilts.*, i, 161). True transparent yellow glass first appears in Egypt in the XVIIIth dynasty and is well known at Tell el Amarna, but no beads of this material have yet been recognized in Great Britain.

Fig. 27. Calcite bead from B 18 (1/1)

The form of this bead is unusual and is best described as a Spectacled Spacing Bead. It is octiform or figure-of-8 shaped and closely resembles the loose link of a bicycle chain. It is 19 mm. long, 8 mm. wide, and 3·5 mm. thick. The two perforations are of hour-glass form (calcite possesses a low degree of hardness and can be readily ground or bored to the required shape) and are 3 and 2·5 mm. in diameter respectively. No exact parallel is known to the writer or to Mr. H. C. Beck to whom the specimen has been shown.

But fortunately the date of the bead is not indeterminable in spite of the lack of associated objects. The two calcite beads from Stockbridge Down noted above were found directly associated with three segmented faience beads. And we should also note that the so-called yellow glass fragment and beads from Pensthorpe and barrow Amesbury G. 44 were also associated with the same type of faience beads. It therefore seems clear that locally produced calcite beads are also referable to Piggott's rich Wessex Bronze Age culture (*Proc. Prehist. Soc.*, iv (1938), 52), and may be dated to about 1400 B.C.

Somewhat analogous double-perforated spacing beads of bone or jet, roughly rectangular in outline, have been recorded from Scotland (*Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, lxiv, 33) and Lakenheath (Cambridge, Mus. of Arch. and Ethn.), but their connexion can only be remote. A precise parallel in amber, however, was found at Mycenae (Acropolis, Athens Museum, case 51, no. 2520).

APPENDIX III

Report on the Cremated Burials from Crichel Down Excavations, 1938, by Lionel F. Cowley, Esq., M.Sc., *Assistant Keeper, Dept. of Zoology, National Museum of Wales.*

Note.—*Cremations were only submitted when the amount or condition of the bone fragments seemed to warrant examination.*

Barrow 1. Bones from pit. All that may be said of the few fragments from this barrow is that, apart from one very small cranial fragment, probably of a child, and one or two fragments of robust bones which indicate an adult, the remains are such that no very definite conclusions can be reached.

Cremation from above pit. Remains too fragmentary to be of value as evidence.

Barrow 2. Cremation in North-west Quadrant. The remains from this barrow yielded fragments of bone and teeth of an adult human being; and portions of an ulna and skull as well as two teeth of dog. These remains of dog had not been burnt.

Barrow 3. Primary. Bones of an adult; no duplication. The remains therefore represent one adult.

Barrow 7. Cremation. Remains few and fragmentary. The recognizable fragments consist of part of an unworn crown of a true molar, and a portion of the jaw showing space in which tooth would have developed before erupting. The remains therefore represent a child still in possession of milk teeth and probably not much more than seven years old.

Barrow 7. Bones from southern pit. Amongst the very few bony fragments from this burial, one piece of the head of a femur is recognizable. The remains represent, in my opinion, one individual, a male.

Barrow 8. From Urn. Portions of skull as well as the extremities of a few other bones indicate that the remains are those of an adult. Since there were no signs of duplication the remains represent in all probability one adult.

Barrow 9. Primary. Amongst the relatively more abundant material from this burial were portions of the heads of four femora; portions of the distal extremities of three humeri; portions of two astragali of the right side; and numerous portions of skull.

Of the above it may be said that at least two individuals were represented and that one of them was under 20 years; this latter fact is borne out by the neck of a femur which plainly showed that the head of the bone had not yet become ankylosed with it, and portions of the cranium also indicated that they belonged to a young person. Two persons are represented therefore, one being under 20 years old.

Barrow 9. Secondary burial 2. The material was extremely fragmentary and contained no recognizable pieces apart from a few small pieces of the cranial dome and one petrous bone. The remains therefore, since there is no duplication, represent one individual of unknown age.

Barrow 9. Secondary 4. The recognizable pieces from this burial consist of portions of the right and left petrous bones as well as small fragments of the skull of a child. The remains therefore in all probability are those of one individual, a child.

Barrow 9. Secondary 5. The few fragmentary pieces from this burial represent in all probability one individual of unknown age.

Barrow 9. Secondary 7. The few small fragments from this burial represent the skull of a child.

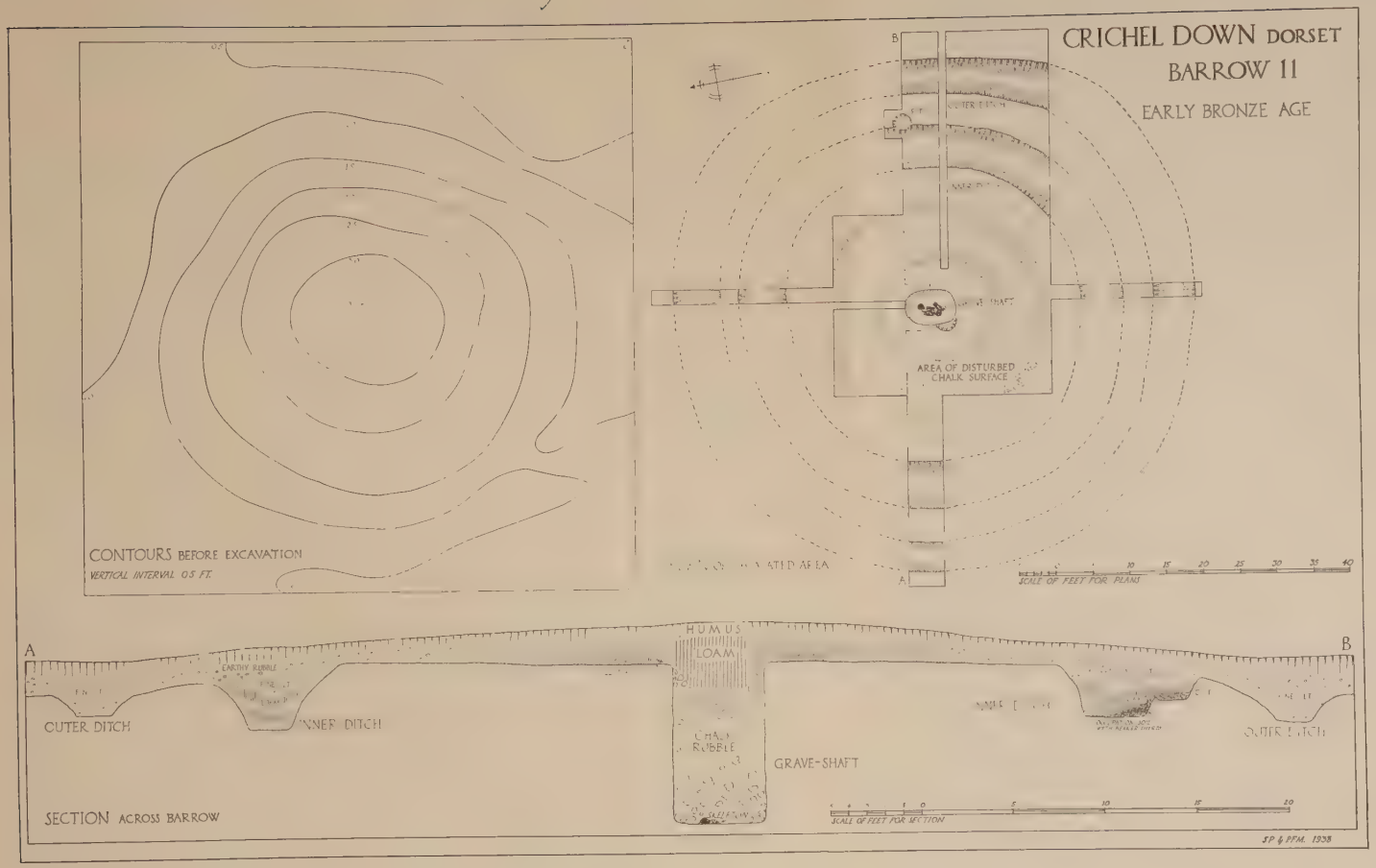
Barrow 10. Cremation in Late Bronze Age Urn. The remains consisted of a portion of the left frontal including part of the dorsal rim of the orbit, a portion of a petrous bone, portions of a skull and of various condyles of long bones, and a part of an axis vertebra. The probability is that the remains are of one adult.

Barrow 12. Eccentric cremation. This material contained two petrous bones, one of the left and one of the right sides; a portion of the second cervical or axis vertebra; several small portions of skull; pieces of condyles of several of the long bones; and an incomplete crown of an unworn molar tooth. The remains may be said to represent an individual of about 12 or 14 years of age.

Barrow 18. Fragments of bones from this burial consisted of small portions of palate, one petrous bone of the right side and a portion of the distal extremity of a humerus. Since I found no signs of immaturity nor of duplication the remains represent in all probability one adult.

Launceston Down: Cremation. Amongst the sparse material from this site are portions of skull which show that ankylosis had taken place along the line of sutures. Thus the remains represent an adult, and since there were no signs of duplication the probability is that the material represents but one person.

NOTE.—Owing to war-time emergency the skeletal material, which was temporarily housed by the Royal College of Surgeons, has been removed to a place of safety for the duration. It is hoped that, when the war is over, Professor Cave will prepare a report for publication. His detailed description of the trepanned skull from B 14 was published in *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*, 1940, pp. 131–2.


CRICHEL DOWN DORSET
BARROW 11
EARLY BRONZE AGE
CONTOURS BEFORE EXCAVATION
VERTICAL INTERVAL 0·5 FT.
AREA OF DISTURBED CHALK SURFACE
SCALE OF FEET FOR PLANS
A
B
HUMUS
LOAM
CHALK RUBBLE
GRAVE-SHAFT
OUTER DITCH
SECTION ACROSS BARROW
SCALE OF FEET FOR SECTION

III.—*Report on Excavations at Verulamium: Insula XVII, 1938*

By Miss K. M. Richardson

Insula XVII lies within the Gorhambury estate, immediately opposite the theatre and on the east side of the modern drive, which here almost coincides with the underlying Watling Street. It was while excavation of the theatre was in progress in 1934 that part of this area was opened up, in the process of locating the foundations of the triumphal arch which had spanned the Roman street at this point. The frontage of an apparently imposing building, running parallel to Watling Street, was then uncovered, but, though the exposed walls were planned by Mr. A. W. G. Lowther, A.R.I.B.A., F.S.A.,[1] no further work was undertaken in this area at that time and the masonry was covered in again. As the area in question lies close to the civic centre of the Roman city, now buried beneath St. Michael's churchyard and vicarage garden, and as already the theatre and a Romano-Celtic temple had been found in Insula XVI immediately to the west, it seemed likely that this new building might likewise be monumental in character and would repay further investigation. It was also hoped that excavation here, within the compass of the early Roman city might throw more light both on the earliest and on the latest occupation of the site. The Earl of Verulam was therefore approached and I would like at this point to record the thanks of the Verulamium Excavation Committee for generous permission to undertake the work.

I also wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to Mr. H. E. Asprey, who made all the necessary local arrangements, to Mr. F. T. Negus, and, not least, to Mr. C. E. Jones, F.S.A., then Treasurer of the Verulamium Excavation Fund, who helped untiringly throughout the work. My thanks are also due to Miss M. Whitley for her active assistance, to Mr. Philip Corder, F.S.A., who directed operations for three weeks in my absence; and to Mr. W. Wedlake, my foreman and colleague, whose wide experience of excavation was invaluable. I have also to thank the late Dr. T. Davies Pryce, F.S.A., Dr. F. Oswald, F.S.A., and Mr. J. Stanfield for supplying notes on the Samian, Mr. J. S. Kirkman and Mr. Derek Allen for reporting on the coins, and also Mr. E. B. Birley, F.S.A., and Mr. M. R. Hull for examining stamps on mortaria and Belgic plates respectively. Finally, I am deeply grateful to Dr. R. E. M. Wheeler who frequently visited the site and has helped and advised me on the field and in the writing of this report.

Work was begun on 15th March 1938, and the site filled in by 4th June. Barely a week of digging sufficed to show that the walls of the edifice had been

[1] *Archaeologia*, lxxxiv (1934), pl. lxxi.

considerably 'robbed', in some places to a depth of six feet. This had almost entirely destroyed the levels related to the latest phase of occupation, and incidentally entailed much shifting of unstratified material.

It was possible, however, with the help of rubble footings and wall-trenches, to recover the plans of three successive phases of a stone building, Building I. Beneath the earliest stone building the remains of a wooden structure were identified, and stratified below this, evidence of yet earlier occupation. The history of the site thus falls into five phases. The southern end of another stone structure, already located by Mr. Lowther in 1934, was again uncovered, Building II, separated from Building I by a street running at right angles to Watling Street. Indications of another building appeared on the southern side, though here there was no intervening side street. These two flanking buildings were not investigated, but it was clear that Building II was of at least two periods.

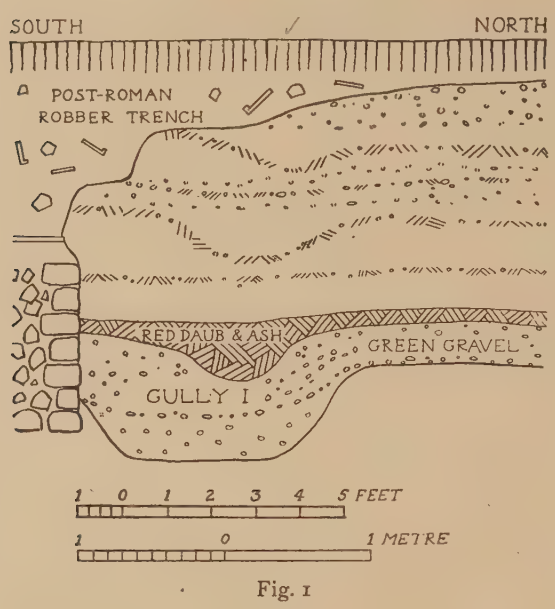


Fig. 1

Phase 1: the early post-conquest occupation. Over the whole area explored, where the excavation trenches were dug down to the natural gravel, there appeared a layer of 'green gravel' containing occupation material. This immediately overlay the natural gravel and filled two gullies running east and west across the site. Gully II, some 4 ft. in depth and 7 ft. wide, occurred in one trench only and had an upper and lower silting (see fig. 2), but Gully I across which two sections were dug, was only 2 ft. deep by 4 ft. wide and had a uniform filling (see fig. 1). Elsewhere the 'green gravel' was rarely more than 1 ft. in thickness and appears to represent a fairly short phase of occupation. A thin but unworn metalled surface proved to be contemporary with the gullies and was exposed on a line running roughly parallel to Watling Street between two later walls, but it was impossible to arrive at its width. At one point four small holes, barely 2 in. wide and penetrating through the metalling to a depth of 1 ft. 3 in., suggested the former existence of a wattle fence: close by were found three post-holes roughly 4 in. wide and 1 ft. 9 in. deep (pl. xv, *a*). These post-holes did not seem to belong to a hut, and indeed occupation material was scarce in this corner and only a few sherds were recovered from the thin layer of silt covering the metalling.

The pottery from this horizon will be seen to be post-conquest in date and to overlap the reign of Nero (below, figs. 11 and 12, group 1). Apart from four vessels distinctly Roman in ware and profile, the bulk of the pottery is still decidedly Belgic in character, as is to be expected, but the Samian, examined by Dr. T. Davies Pryce, indicates a Claudio–early Neronian dating. The two associated brooches of Swarling type (fig. 4, 1 and 2), though typologically of

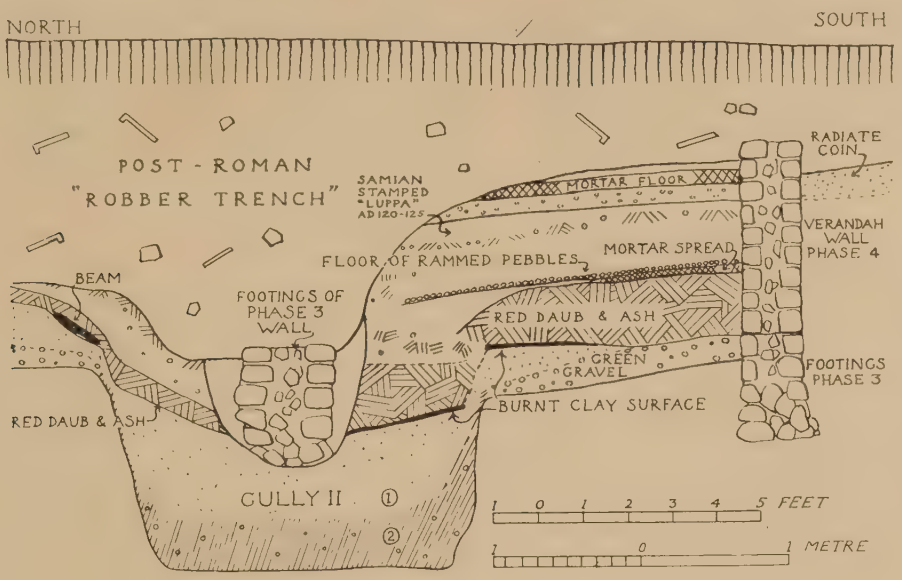


Fig. 2

pre-conquest date, have already been found at Verulamium in levels subsequent to A.D. 43 and may occur anywhere in the second quarter of the century. As to the Belgic coin from this horizon, dated by Mr. Derek Allen to 14–12 B.C., it may be observed that, of the eight British coins previously recovered, all but one came from the site of the Roman city and almost entirely from post-conquest levels.[1]

Apart from the wattle fence, no other structure was identified. The pottery, however, indicates the presence of some habitation in the immediate neighbourhood, similar to the wattle and daub hut or huts found in the 1930-1934 excavations in Insula II under Building I, 1,[2] and equating with the earliest stage of occupation by the side of the then recently constructed Watling Street during the period A.D. 45 to 50 or 55.

Phase 2: the wooden building. Stratified immediately over the 'green gravel' layer (figs. 1 and 2) and covering most of the area excavated there occurred a thick red layer, composed chiefly of baked daub and charred timbering which

[1] *Verulamium Report*, p. 226. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 86.

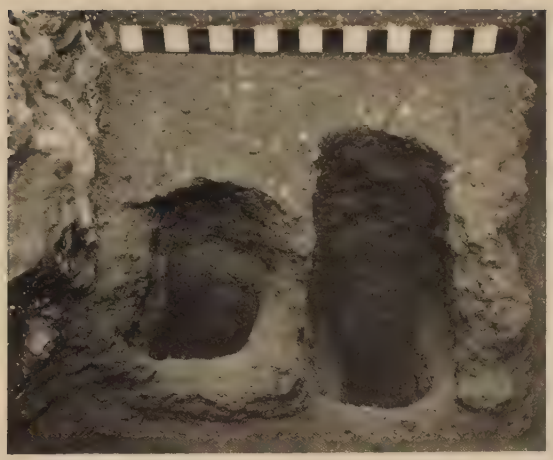
will be referred to as the 'red daub and ash' layer. Although it was clear that the burnt beams and the daub were the remains of a wooden structure which had perished in a violent conflagration, the foundations of the later stone building had largely destroyed the evidence, and it was not possible to recover the complete plan of this earlier wooden building (pl. XV, *b*). A sleeper-beam was traced running for some 100 ft. roughly parallel to Watling Street and on the inner side of the later verandah wall. A similar beam was found 65 ft. to the east of the first and parallel to it. Elsewhere, short lengths of timbering were identified over almost all the area explored and in one place the sleeper-beam was found with part of the upright still in position. But it was impossible to tell if these scattered beams belonged to one building or more (pl. XXI).

To the south of the stone building, however, a corner and one side of a small room were found with the wall still standing to a height of 2 ft. Here it was possible to examine the building methods of this period (fig. 3). The sleeper-beam had been laid in a slot cut in a tightly packed gravel and clay make-up, which, at the north-east corner of the building, directly overlay the earlier metalling. Substantial rectangular timber uprights, 8 in. by 6 in., were mortised in the sleeper-beam and supported the walls, which consisted of a framework of wattles faced and backed with daub (pl. XV, *c*). The daub had been impressed with a keying pattern (pl. XX, *a*) to hold the final plaster facing, fragments of which, whitish-pink in colour, were found among the collapsed daub. This use of uprights fixed in sleeper-beams as opposed to wall posts driven deep into the earth, to take the wattle framework, seems to be a less common method of construction in Verulamium. Timber, wattle, and daub continued to be the only building materials in use for private houses right up to the beginning of the second century A.D., when stone buildings began to come into fashion, but even as late as A.D. 150 houses were erected which combined a timber framework with stone walls.

From the meagre evidence surviving it was, of course, quite impossible to say what was the nature of the structure destroyed and whether it was a private or a public building.

The pottery from the 'red daub and ash' layer (figs. 13 and 14, group 2) which is discussed in detail at the end of this report (see p. 109) is consistent with a pre-Flavian dating, and the only brooch associated with this group is of mid first-century type (fig. 4, 3). As the Samian pottery includes late Neronian forms, the lower limit of the group could be brought down to A.D. 60–65. In spite, therefore, of the fact that timber huts and houses of this type must frequently have been burnt to the ground, it is tempting to identify the utter destruction of this building by fire with the major disaster which overwhelmed Colchester, London, and Verulamium itself in A.D. 61.

a. Row of four small holes for wattle-fencing (phase 1), and later post-holes (phase 2). *Scale in feet*



b. Post-holes for the uprights of the wooden building (phase 2). *Scale in inches*

c. The daub walls of the wooden building (phase 2), showing the holes made by the former timber uprights and wattle framework (see p. 84 and fig. 3). *Scale in inches*

a. The conduit (phase 3) blocked by the west wall of Building I (phase 4) (see p. 85). Note the coarse masonry pier (phase 5)

b. The conduit (phase 3) looking east towards the blocking wall (see p. 85)

c. The NE. corner of Building I (phase 3), showing the careful work of this period

Phase 3: the first stone building. At some date, probably fairly early in the second century A.D., a stone building was erected over the ruins of the timber structure (pl. XXI). The plan was of the simplest; it consisted merely of a rectangle 139 ft. by 78 ft. wide, running lengthwise east and west; a row of small rooms 13 or 14 ft. by 16 ft. 9 in. was built along both the north and south walls

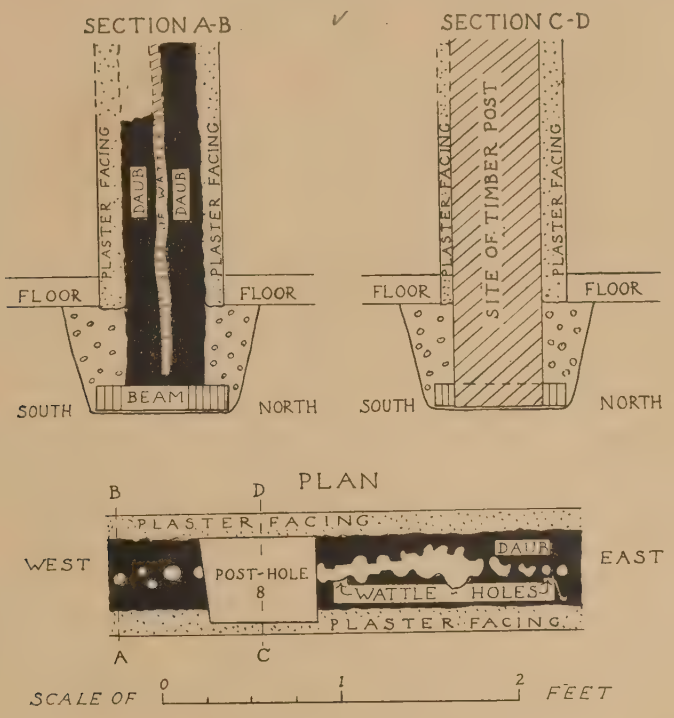


Fig. 3

leaving a courtyard down the centre, which probably remained open to the sky. The two sides facing Watling Street and the side street were flanked by a metalled verandah, but the only entrance was at the west end of the building. The walls were of carefully coursed flints with the corners and partition ends of the cubicles neatly turned in tile. The floors had been almost entirely destroyed by the later rebuilding, but appeared to be made of pebbles set in rammed earth or in a thin skin of cement. The only other feature of interest was a water channel 5 ft. 6 in. deep and 1 ft. 9 in. wide, built in alternating tile and flint courses with a tiled floor (pl. XVI, *a*, *b*). It had been wrecked and robbed in the eastern half of the building, nor could its course be traced outside the east wall of the house, but it ran straight through the western end and then disappeared under the present road. Levels taken on the floor of the channel showed that, curiously enough, this dropped roughly a foot in 50 ft. going from east to west, that is uphill and away from the river, so that the function of the channel must have

been that of a conduit for bringing fresh water and not that of a drain for carrying off rain-water or sewage.

A trench dug on the west side of Watling Street hard by the theatre failed to show its continuation, at any rate in a straight line. Though apparently belonging to the first period of Building I, it was not certain whether this water channel had been made to serve it or, as is perhaps more probable, some other building farther west. It is just possible that the conduit was in fact somewhat later than the building, in which case it might be associated with the adjacent theatre, built *c.* A.D. 140. If so, it could have been used for flooding the arena for the staging of nautical displays.[1] In this connexion it may be remarked that a well-built drain, 3 ft. 9 in. in height and 1 ft. 4 in. broad, was found at the north-east corner of the first-period theatre orchestra. This ran in the direction of Watling Street and may conceivably have been the counterpart of our conduit, for the purpose of emptying the arena. Certainly the depth of the outlet from the area (3 ft. 9 in.) seems unnecessarily great if it was merely intended to carry off rain-water.

The date of the construction of this first phase of Building I could not, unfortunately, be fixed, for at the time of the later rebuild the walls were levelled, in places to their very footings, thus destroying stratigraphical evidence. Where, however, any contemporary levels did survive, they appeared to repose directly on pre-Flavian layers, and any pottery sealed by floor levels or derived from wall trenches was undoubtedly pre-Flavian. Though no doubt most of this material was derived from the pre-Boudiccan levels, the absence of Flavian or later pottery does suggest that the new stone building succeeded the wooden structure at no great interval of time. Again, though the walls did not contain any of the yellow, early second-century type of bricks, the use of floors of gravel rammed in clay, typical of first-century buildings, may be significant. Lastly, though few of the stone buildings excavated in the south part of the city antedated the reign of Hadrian, buildings in stone may well have been erected at an earlier date in the northern area, still largely unexcavated. Moreover, public buildings would be the first to be entirely built of stone, witness the neighbouring Romano-Celtic temple which was erected not much later than the close of the first century A.D. Granted that the present edifice was a public building, a point which will be discussed later, it might well be of late first- or early second-century date.

Phase 4: the second stone building. Some time after A.D. 160 the early stone building was reconstructed and greatly reduced in size. The eastern half was demolished and the ground levelled up over the foundations with a layer of clay

[1] Cf. the aqueducts which supplied the arenas at Nîmes, Capua, Pozzuoli, the Colosseum, and elsewhere.

and rubbish. The western end was also pulled down but the footings were re-used in the erection of a second building 78 ft. square, the main walls of which conformed fairly accurately with the underlying masonry. Inside the building the surviving rooms continued in use. The new east wall and the rebuild of the west wall effectively blocked the water channel and put it out of commission as an aqueduct (pl. XVI, *a*, *b*). A length of it, however, was re-used. With its floor raised to a higher level and additional channels it now ran round a rectangle, its eastern section continuing northwards and out through gaps in the main northern and verandah walls. Its function must now have been that of a drain for carrying away the rain-water from the central courtyard. The only other addition to the new building was an apse placed at the eastern extremity of the rectangle formed by the drain (pl. XVII, *a*). The masonry of this period does not greatly differ from that of the earlier building, though tile courses are more frequently used.

The date of this rebuild was established fairly certainly by a considerable mass of pottery. The associated Samian has been examined by Dr. T. Davies Pryce and, like the coarse pottery, included a quantity of first- and early second-century forms. The following are the latest dating pieces, derived from levels sealed by the phase 4 building and from layers contemporary with the erection of this building: base of a form 38, Antonine, from a layer sealed by the mortar floor of the phase 4 building. Dragendorff 54, Hadrian–Antonine, from the silt in the conduit. Form 81, Hadrian-Antonine, from the wall trench of the phase 4 building. Form 37, panel decoration, panther on wavy line, with rows of large beads and dolphin in medallion, Lezoux, Antonine (*c.* A.D. 150–160), and Form 33, base stamped MATERNNI . M, Lezoux, Antonine (a Pan Rock stamp), both from the clay levelling over the foundations of the demolished half of the phase 3 building.

The coarse pottery does not appear to come down later than A.D. 160 (see fig. 15, group 3), and the evidence of the Samian agrees with this terminal date for the group. Thus the date of the reconstruction of phase 4 coincides with the last years of the period of expansion and rebuilding in Verulamium begun in Hadrian's reign.

Towards the very close of the second century or the beginning of the third century A.D. a pit was dug hard up against the main west wall of the building (Pit 2 on plan). This was filled with pottery which was clearly all of one period (see fig. 16, group 4). The coarse pottery included three Castor ware beakers and fragments of others, a type of pottery which only comes into vogue at the close of the Antonine period. The Samian pottery fully agrees with the date of the coarse wares: this consists of a form 45, dated *c.* A.D. 170–250, and form 33, of late second-century type. At about this period also running water was

allowed to hollow out a gully in the 'clay levelling' along the main east wall of the house. This was filled with a sandy deposit containing occupation material. The same sandy deposit also filled and sealed a pit adjoining the gully, Pit 3. The coarse pottery from these deposits (fig. 17, group 5) forms a group, which may be attributed to the first half of the third century A.D. and was associated with the following Samian pottery: from the gully, the base of a form 33 stamped DIVICATVS, Lezoux, Antonine and form 31, late Antonine; from Pit 3, form 45, *c.* A.D. 170–250, and the base of a 33 with a high kick, attributed to the second half of the second century A.D. The sandy deposit in the gully also produced a glass cinerary bottle of late first- to early second-century type (pl. XIX, *a*), together with a *sestertius* of Hadrian (A.D. 117–138; M. & S. 752) and an *as* of Antoninus Pius (A.D. 138–161; M. & S. 934) both in very worn condition.

Phase 5: the third stone building. Towards the close of the third or the beginning of the fourth century A.D. considerable additions were made to the plan of the second building (pl. XXII).

The four main walls of the structure remained as they were, but the rooms were suppressed and two walls with piers at 10-ft. intervals were erected, thus dividing the building into three aisles. These piers would support the vaulting which now probably roofed in the central aisle. The apse was also levelled and a new wall was built parallel to and 13 ft. back from the outer east wall. Abutting on to this a block of masonry 16 ft. 3 in. long, 10 ft. 3 in. wide, and 8 ft. in depth was inserted between the drain walls and a second block 14 ft. 3 in. in length, at a distance of some 10 ft. west of the first (pl. XVII, *a*). These massive blocks of masonry can only have been constructed to support some great weight, such as two large statues, or even water-tanks. The drain probably continued in use for it was not wrecked when the blocks of masonry were erected. At the western end a massive frontage now replaced the verandah wall, forming a portico or monumental entrance opening on to Watling Street. A solid masonry foundation 19 ft. by 7 ft. was added at the north end of the portico probably to support an archway; two smaller blocks abutted on to this and a cement layer with bepebbled surface ran between them. This was apparently a side entrance (pl. XVII, *b*).

The additions of this phase may easily be distinguished from those of the earlier period. The masonry is coarse and unfinished, and the work partakes of the nature of concrete rather than of masonry. This is especially noticeable in the case of the piers abutting on the west wall, which are also lop-sided and of unequal sizes.

Owing to consistent medieval plundering, which had destroyed the contemporary floors and levels, the material for dating the last rebuild was of the

scantiest. A few sherds recovered from the mortar and rubbish filling the sides of the trough in which the masonry blocks were inserted, include Rhenish ware and Castor ware (fig. 18, group 6) suggesting a late third- to early fourth-century date for this reconstruction. An *as* of Constantius II (A.D. 340–361; Cohen 48), found in a subsequent repair of the metalled surface inside the north-west entrance, indicates that this building had already been in use for a fair number of years before the coin was lost. The rough masonry and the massive style of the structure also point to a date *c.* A.D. 300 for this last rebuild, for work of this sort is typical of buildings in other parts of the city, which were restored at the time of the revival under Constantius Chlorus.

To this phase also may be assigned the remains of a building which once stood to the east of Building I and which had been robbed right down to its chalk footings. Such chalk foundations appear to be characteristic of houses of this period. The adjacent Triumphal Arch across Watling Street, it will be remembered, was also erected at this time and a glance at the plan of Period IV of the theatre will suffice to show how awkwardly this was situated both in relation to the theatre and the main entrance of Building I.

The medieval 'robbing' must once more be held responsible for the lack of stratified material bearing on the terminal date of the last phase. The material from the 'robber' layers included wall-sided mortaria and red-coated wares together with a number of fourth-century coins, the latest in the series being two of Magnus Maximus, A.D. 383–388. Judging from this evidence the building can hardly have continued in use beyond the close of the fourth century.

A stone-lined well discovered at the south end of the site was cleared to the bottom and proved to be 14 ft. 6 in. in depth. It was filled chiefly with third-century Roman pottery, but fragments of thirteenth-century jugs (see fig. 19, nos. 4 and 5) occurred to a depth of 10 ft. and the well may probably be assigned to the latter period.

The question of the function of Building I in its three phases must now be considered.

As regards the use of this building in its earliest phase only tentative suggestions are here advanced, for the plan is too simple to recall any particular type of structure. But as it does not at this stage bear any definite resemblance to known types of town houses, one may assume that it was a public building of some sort. Had it been possible to fix the erection of the earliest stone building to *c.* A.D. 140–150 one might have supposed that this simple plan with its two rows of small rooms could have been something in the nature of a barracks for lodging gladiators in connexion with the neighbouring theatre. Barracks and schools for gladiators have been found in the neighbourhood of the Colosseum in Rome. The best-known example of this type is the building discovered at

Pompeii[1] which consists of a large cloistered courtyard surrounded on all sides by a single row of small cubicles. Again, the type of building in use as a *palaestra* or gymnasium at Ostia[2] consisted of an open courtyard surrounded on three sides by a portico, with small dressing-rooms ranged along two sides. The *palaestrae*, however, were always directly connected with a bath building. In the case of the Verulamium building the water supply existed, but no traces of tanks or a bathing establishment were found. Lastly, this plan suggests a simplified version of a market hall, for shops could have been accommodated in the rooms which resemble the small booths originally situated round the forum and later incorporated in the Roman market hall or *macellum*. The latter were built when the forum ceased to serve solely as a market-place, becoming above all a centre for political meetings, and their present-day equivalent may be seen in the 'halles' of any French town. In big Roman towns the butchers occupied one building, the fishmongers another, and so forth, but in smaller towns one *macellum* sufficed for general use.

The fourth-phase building, which though reduced in size retained the rooms, and the building of phase 5 divided into three aisles by two rows of piers are reminiscent in plan both of the basilican and of the market-hall type of edifice.

The Roman basilica allowed for a variety of uses, the dispensing of justice or other civil administration, and the carrying on of business of all sorts. It also served as a covered market-place. The basilica in the Timgad forum[3] was a long, rectangular, aisle-less building. It had an apse at the northern end, within the main wall and a row of small rooms or shops down one of the long sides. In addition there was a platform or rostrum across the southern end with accessory rooms. The building thus housed both a market and a law court.

The Pozzuoli market hall[4] was a long rectangular building with an inner courtyard surrounded by shops, having an apse at one end and a circular domed structure in the centre of the courtyard. The plan of the enclosed market of Announa[5] shows a rectangular building divided in three by a double row of pillars. The two side-aisles were partitioned off into shops with open fronts, and there were two small rooms at the end opposite the entrance. It is interesting to note that bases for two statues were found standing in the central aisle.

It seems reasonable to suppose that if the Verulamium building was a *macellum* in its first and second phases, it was also a market hall in its latest

[1] J. Overbeck, *Pompeii* (1875), p. 169, fig. 113.
[2] Calza, *Ostia, Guido storico monumentale*, fig. 26.
[3] A. Ballu (1902), *Forum et théâtre de Timgad*, pl. VI.
[4] Dubois, *Pozzuoli*, p. 286.
[5] Gsell-Joly (1918), *Khamissa, Mdaourouch Announa*, Part III, pl. XIX, ii, pp. 76–8.

stage, and on the whole this appears to be the most reasonable explanation of its functions in each successive phase.

To conclude, one may say that whatever their use may have been, the earlier timber structure and Building I in its three phases conform very fairly with the general historical background of the city as established by the 1930–1934 excavations. The site was certainly not occupied before the Roman conquest and the earliest occupation here equates with the settling of the Belgic natives from Prae Wood by the side of the newly constructed Watling Street. Shortly after the middle of the first century A.D. a timber building was erected which, by its size, bears witness to the rapid growth in importance of the early Roman city.

Hardly a decade later Colchester, London, and Verulamium perished in the flames kindled by the Boudiccan rebels, and it is suggested that this timber building, which was burnt down sometime in the reign of Nero, was involved in the same disaster. In the new Verulamium which later arose from these ruins stone buildings gradually replaced the earlier timber structures. Especially was this the case with public edifices, and Building I may possibly have been built in this late first- to early second-century period. Although in its second phase it shows a reduction in size, the date of the second stone building corresponds to the later years of second-century prosperity and expansion. With the rest of the city it no doubt suffered decay in the course of the third century and was likewise restored in the rather vulgar ostentatious style of that period, round about the turn of the third and fourth centuries. As all later layers have been destroyed one cannot tell how long the building was occupied before it was finally abandoned.

Figure 4.

Bronze objects and melon beads.

1. Bronze brooch of Swarling type. This fine example should typologically be of pre-conquest date, but actually was found in the lower filling of Gully II associated with Claudian Samian. It may therefore be dated to *c.* A.D. 45–55. Cf. *Verulamium Report,* fig. 44, 20, which was sealed by an occupation layer of the period A.D. 50–75.[1]

2. Bronze brooch of Swarling type. A coarser version of no. 1 and the bow is more arched, which is a late feature. Cf. *Swarling Report,*[2] pl. XV, 14, dated A.D. 25–50, and *Verulamium Report,* fig. 44, 21, found with Belgic pottery of A.D. 40–50.

From the 'green gravel' layer equating with Gully II and it may therefore be dated *c.* A.D. 45–55.

3. Bronze brooch of derivative Swarling type. The bow, catch-plate, and wings are cast in one piece and the brooch is accordingly thick and heavy. The spring-hook is re-

[1] R. E. M. and T. V. Wheeler, *Verulamium, a Belgic and two Roman Cities* (Soc. Ant. Lond., 1936).

[2] J. P. Bushe-Fox, *Excavation of the Late-Celtic Urnfield at Swarling, Kent* (Soc. Ant. Lond., 1925).

Fig. 4. Bronze objects and melon beads ($\frac{1}{1}$), see pp. 91, 93

placed by a pseudo-hook, forming a keel cast in one with the bow. The wings are curved to protect the spring. This should be compared with an example from a layer hardly later than the mid first century (*Verulamium Report*, fig. 44. 22) and to a mid first-century brooch from Colchester (see *Colchester Museum Report* (1937), pl. XII, 7).[1] From the 'red daub and ash' layer, *c.* A.D. 55–61.

4. Bronze brooch. The head is of the same type as no. 3, but the foot combines a pierced catch-plate and knob end to the bow. A derivative of the 'Colchester' type shows the same two features (*Colchester Museum Report* (1937), pl. XII, 5 and 6). This is dated to the mid first century or later and like the Verulamium example has the bow, wings, and catch-plate cast in one piece. The present example is from a layer between the third and last remetalling of the phase 3 verandah and cannot be closely dated. Typologically it appears to be pre-Flavian.

5. Trumpet-headed brooch. The central medallion has lost all traces of enamel, otherwise this example is very similar to a brooch from Verulamium (*Verulamium Report*, fig. 44, 30) which came from a late third-century rebuild, but otherwise not closely dated. This type was in vogue in the north of England in the period A.D. 150–200, see J. Curle, *Newstead*, p. 324 and pl. LXXXVI, 25. Found with late second- to early third-century pottery.

6. Bronze spoon of common type. From a mid fourth-century layer.

7. Bronze tweezers. From a layer sealing a wall trench of the phase 4 building. Late second to early third century A.D.

8. Melon bead. From the 'green gravel' layer, *c.* A.D. 45–55.

9. Melon bead. From layer contemporary with the occupation of phase 3, and not later than A.D. 160.

10. Melon bead. From the silt in the conduit, and not later than A.D. 160.

11. Hinged bronze belt-plate originally decorated with niello and perforated at the four corners and in the centre for riveting. Plates of beaten silver or gold with similar decorations of S-patterns and crosses in niello were found at Claudian Hofheim.[2] Ornamental plates of this type were riveted on to leather belts and the two end pieces were hinged to articulate with the buckle. From a pre-Flavian deposit.

12. Bronze ring. From a mid second-century layer.

13. Bronze ear-ring. Found in the 'red daub and ash' layer, and may therefore be dated *c.* A.D. 55–61.

14. Bronze fixing perhaps intended to hold a sheet of glass or metal in place. From the same level as no. 13, *c.* A.D. 55–61.

15. Bronze spiral ring. From the same layer as nos. 13 and 14, *c.* A.D. 55–61.

Plate XVIII, b

1–2. Two bone 'toggles' found together in the collapse of the wattle and daub walls of the timber house, phase 2, *c.* A.D. 50–61. For a note on these objects the function of which is not at all clear, see L. Scott, *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, lxxix (1938), fig. 21, 12 and 14.

3. Pottery unguent receptacle. From a late second-century layer.

[1] Colchester and Essex Museum Annual Reports.

[2] E. Ritterling, Das frührömische Lager bei Hofheim i. T., p. 149, and pl. XII, 1–7 (*Annalen des Vereins für nassauische Altertumskunde*, 1913).

4. Glass 'tear' bottle, from the 'red daub and ash' layer, *c.* A.D. 50–61.

5. Iron caltrop (*tribulus*). An ingenious device used both in the Roman and medieval period to impede the advance of enemy troops whether cavalry or infantry. When the caltrop is thrown on the ground one point always remains uppermost. Unstratified.

Plate XVIII, c

Part of a clay lamp with a rounded nozzle springing directly from the body of the vessel. This was found in the collapsed daub of the timber building, *c.* A.D. 45–61. This type begins in the reign of Augustus but is most common in the Claudio-Neronian period and continues into Flavian times. It appears to be rare at Hofheim (Ritterling, type 37), but several examples were found at Vindonissa (Loeschcke, *Lampen aus Vindonissa* (1919), type VIII, fig. 7 k). See also *Third Richborough Report*, pl. XIX, 4, from a pit dated A.D. 50–75.[1]

Plate XIX, a

Square glass bottle with reeded, right-angled handle, a type commonly used for cremation burials in the late first and early second centuries A.D. Found associated with a coin each of Hadrian (A.D. 117–138) and Antoninus Pius (A.D. 138–161) and a group of late second- to early third-century pottery (group 5). Height $7\frac{3}{4}$ in.

Plate XIX, b

1. Bone needle, unstratified.
2. Bone needle, late second century A.D.
3. Bone bodkin, from Pit 12: fourth century A.D.
4. Bone bodkin, from Pit 2: late second to early third century A.D.
5. Bone pin, unstratified.
6. Bone pin, unstratified.
7. Bone pin, late second century A.D.
8. Bone pin. From the sandy deposit contemporary with Pit 3. Late second to early third century A.D.

Plate XX, a

1–4. Fragments of burnt daub, showing keying patterns to hold a wall plaster facing. (Cf. *First Wroxeter Report*, pl. V, fig. 1.)[2]

5. Belgic brick of hard reddish-buff clay. This differs in texture from the more friable bricks previously found in Belgic levels at Verulamium.

6. Piece of burnt daub showing marks of former wattles.

All these fragments came from the collapse of the wattle and daub walls of the timber house, A.D. 55–61. The presence of the Belgic brick is unusual as hitherto it has never been found in post-conquest levels (see *Verulamium Report*, p. 178); on the other hand, no Roman bricks were recovered from this horizon.

[1] J. P. Bushe-Fox, *Excavations of the Roman Fort at Richborough, Kent* (Soc. Ant. Lond., 1926, 1928, 1932).

[2] J. P. Bushe-Fox, *Excavations on the Site of the Roman Town at Wroxeter, Shropshire* (Soc. Ant. Lond., 1912–1914).

A. Samian Pottery.

Dr. F. Oswald, F.S.A., has kindly supplied notes on the Samian stamps, the late Dr. T. Davies Pryce, F.S.A., examined the plain Samian and both Dr. Davies Pryce and Mr. J. A. Stanfield have reported on the decorated Samian.

Figure 5.

Plain Samian pottery from Gullies I and II and from the 'green gravel' layer equating with them, phase 1.

1. Form 30. Period: early Claudian.
2. Form 27. An early pre-Flavian example with truncated lip.

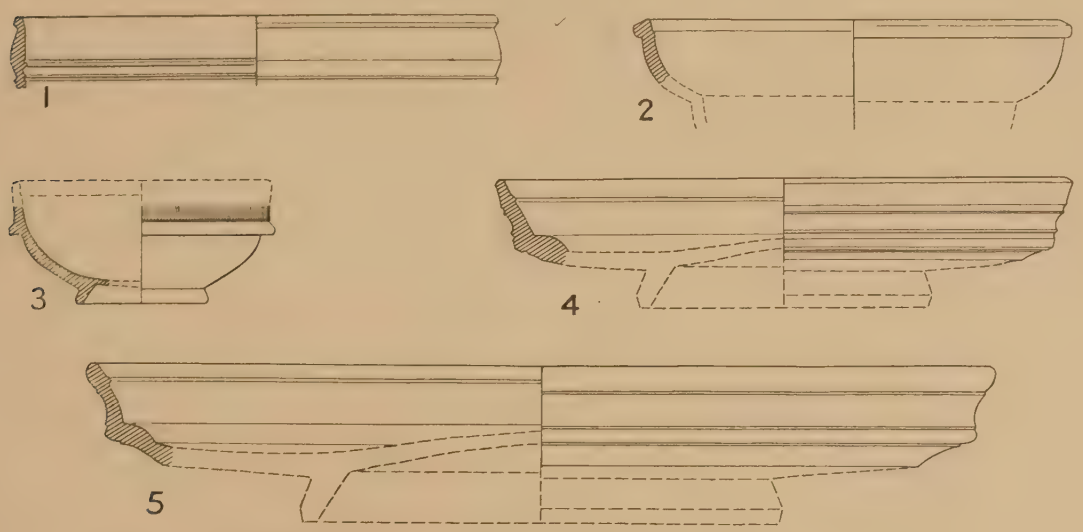


Fig. 5. Plain Samian pottery from Gullies I and II and from the 'green gravel' layer equating with them, phase 1 (½)

3. Form 24/25. Period: Claudian.
4. Form 15/17. Period: pre-Flavian, probably Neronian.
5. Form 15/17. This has a high, outward-sloping wall. Period: pre-Flavian, probably Claudian.

This group, together with other unillustrated fragments, is consistent with a pre-Flavian dating and, apart from those pieces which cannot be dated more precisely, no. 4 is the only fragment for which a Neronian date is advanced.

Figures 6–8.

The plain Samian pottery, from the 'red daub and ash' layer, phase 2.

1. Form 18. Good early glaze. Period: pre-Flavian, probably Claudian.
2–3. Form 18. Period: early pre-Flavian.
4–5. Form 18. Period: pre-Flavian.

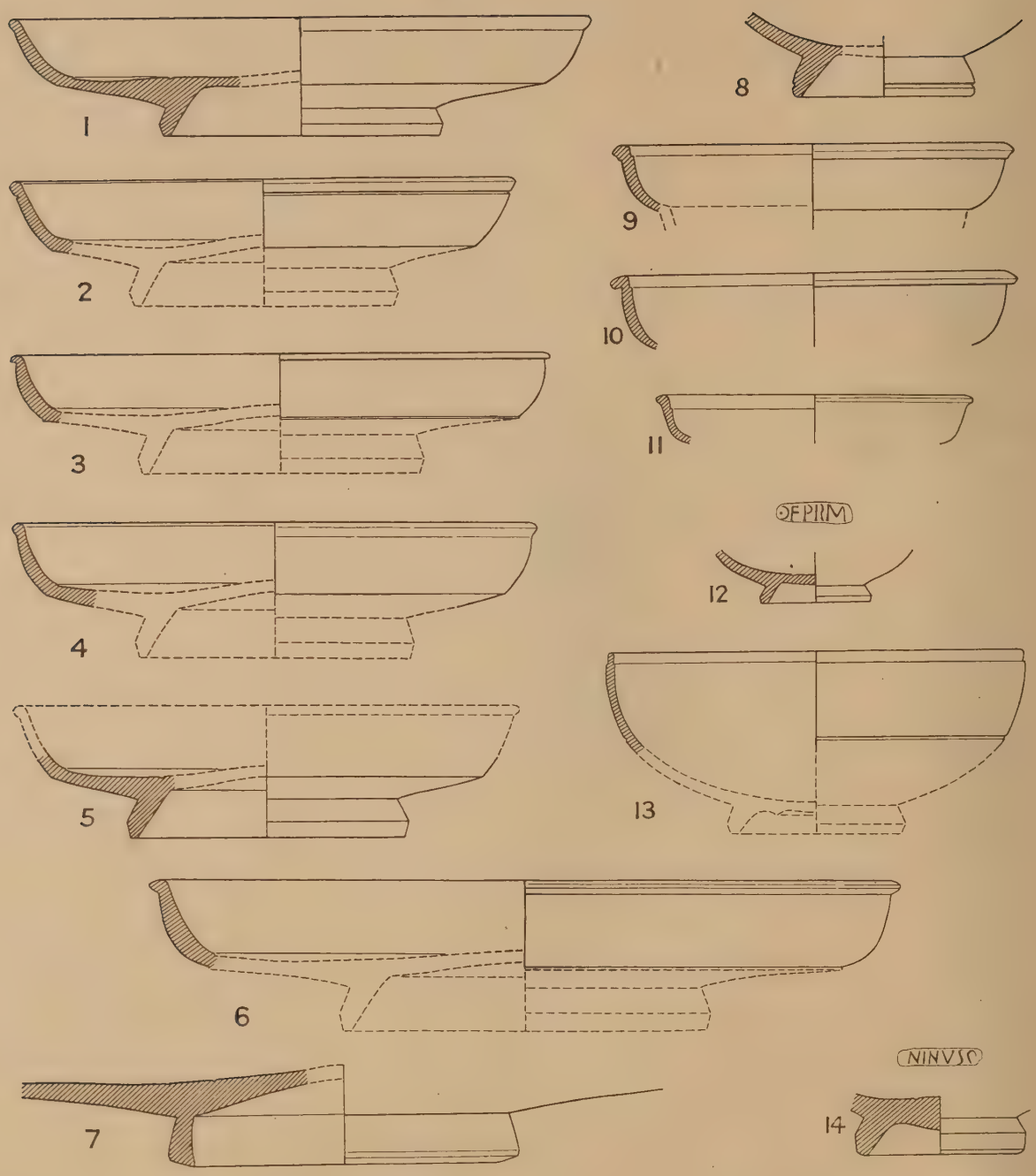


Fig. 6. The plain Samian pottery from the 'red daub and ash' layer, phase 2 ($\frac{1}{2}$)

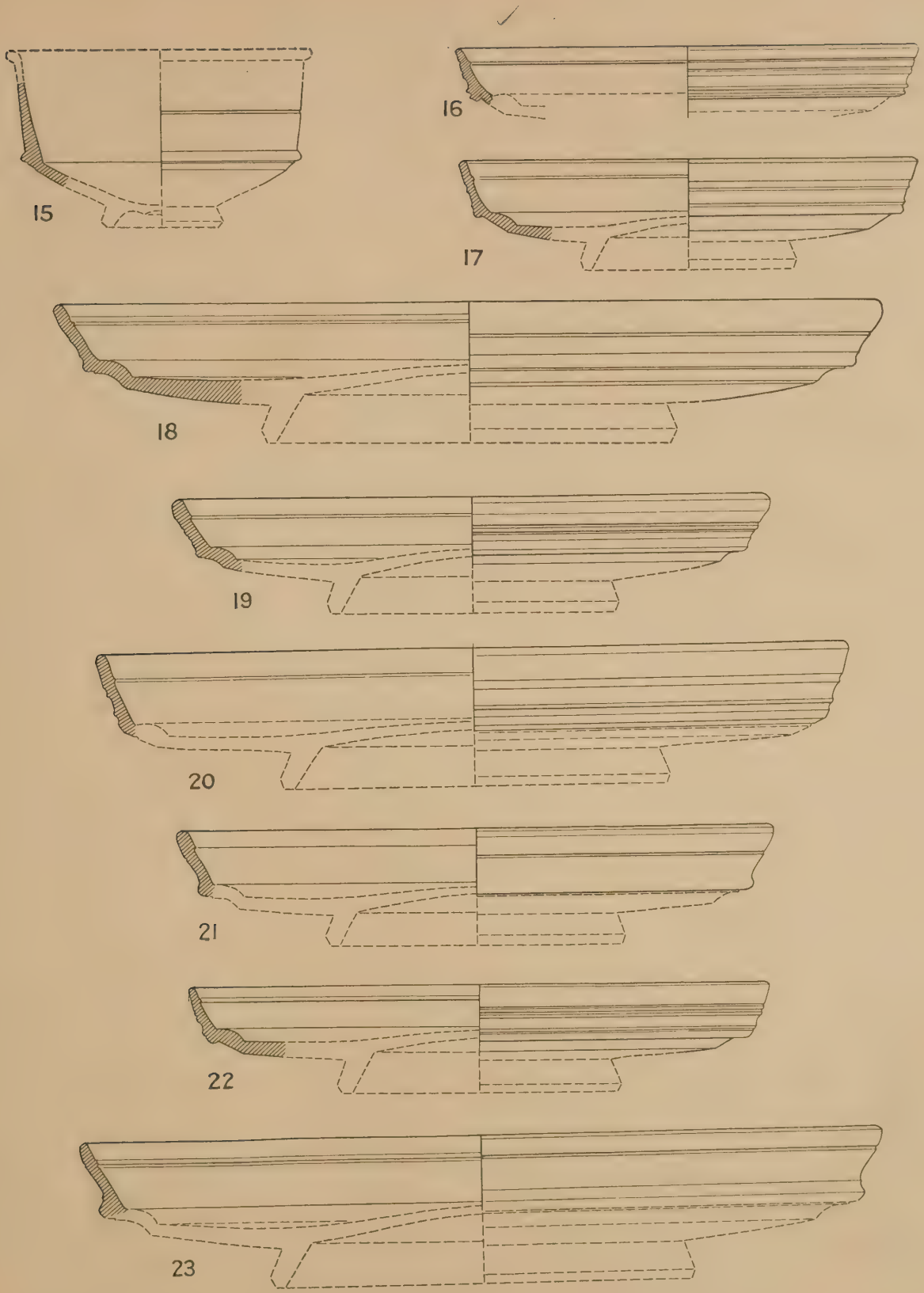


Fig. 7. The plain Samian pottery from the 'red daub and ash' layer, phase 2 ($\frac{1}{2}$)

6. Form 18. Dull early glaze. Period: Neronian.

7. Form 18. Base and foot stand, with fine rouletted ring in interior of base, an early form. Period: pre-Flavian.

8. Form 27. First century.

9. Form 27. Good glaze, the lip is slightly truncated and has a sharp external angle. Period: probably Claudian.

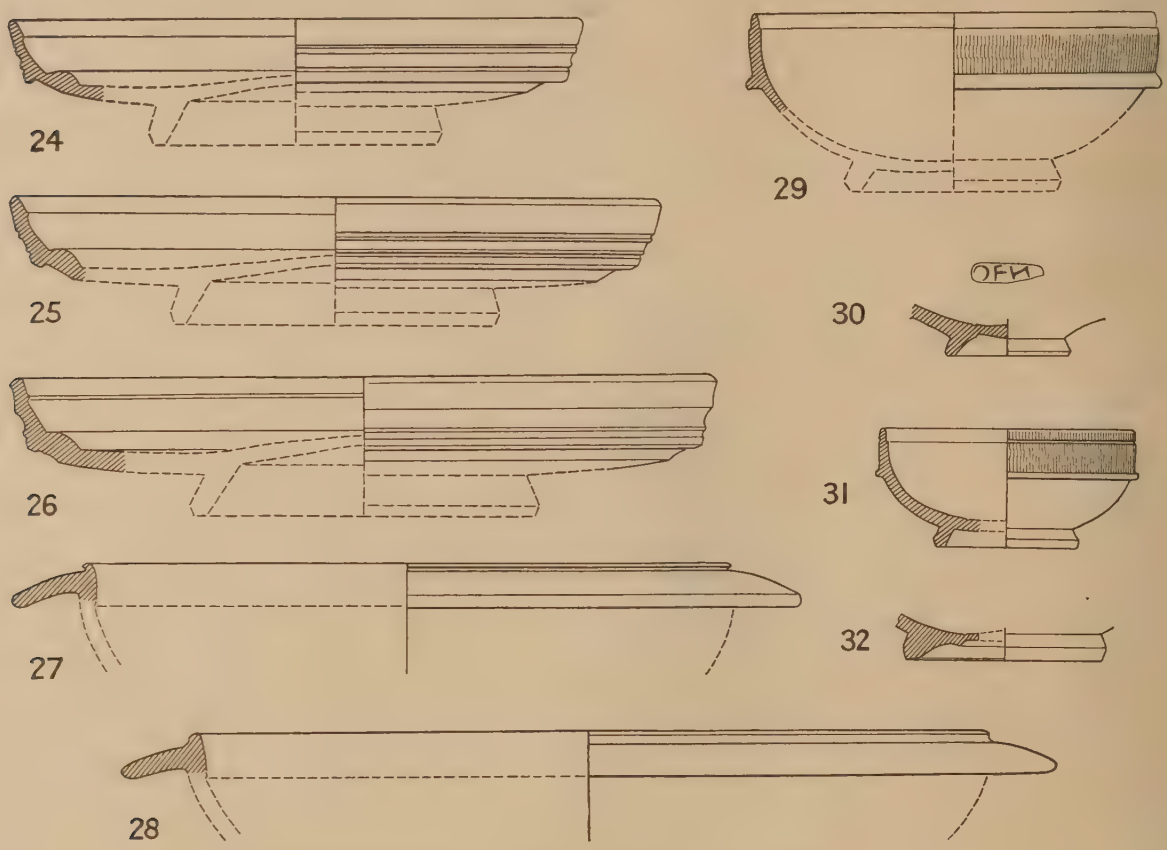


Fig. 8. The plain Samian pottery from the 'red daub and ash' layer, phase 2 (½)

10. Form 27. Good glaze, early truncated lip. Period: Claudian.

11. Form 27. Early, neat, slightly truncated rim. Period: pre-Flavian.

12. Form Ritterling 8. Base stamped ⊙F PRM as at Richborough (*Third Richborough Report*, p. 152, 50 D, not dated), see also stamps from the Roman pottery shop, Colchester. (*Antiq. Journ.*, ix (1929), 38.) Period: pre-Flavian, probably Claudian.

13. Ritterling 8. Period: pre-Flavian, probably Claudian.

14. Form 33. Base stamped perhaps NINVSO. Period: pre-Flavian. There is a NINVS OF from Tarraco (form not given), and an OF NINI on a form 18 from Hitchin, both evidently early and probably Claudian.

15. Form Ritterling 9. Period: probably Claudian.

16. Form 15/17. Period: pre-Flavian, probably Claudian.

17. Form 15/17. Good early glaze and ware. Period: pre-Flavian, probably Claudian.

18. Form 15/17. Good glaze mottled by fire. The deep fluting opposite the quarter-round moulding is an early feature. (See O. and P., pl. XLIII, 30, from Colchester.[1]) Period: probably Claudian.

19. Form 15/17. High outward-sloping wall. Period: Neronian or Nero–Vespasian.

20. Form 15/17. Good glaze, the high wall is a late feature. Period: pre-Flavian, probably Neronian.

21. Form 15/17. Good glaze. Period: pre-Flavian.

22-3. Form 15/17. Period: pre-Flavian.

24. Form 15/17. Dull glaze, upright short wall, with fluting opposite the quarter-round moulding. Period: pre-Flavian.

25–6. Form 15/17. Period: pre-Flavian.

27. Form Ritterling 12. The small lip is almost horizontal. Period: pre-Flavian.

28. Form Ritterling 12. Period: pre-Flavian.

29. Form 24/25. Period: pre-Flavian.

30. Form 24/25. Stamped OF • M. Probably NIGER. There is an OF N on a Form 27 from London and Emporion. Period: probably Claudian.

31. Form 24/25. Period: pre-Flavian, almost certainly Claudian.

32. Form 24/25. The small dip or kick-up in the centre under the base is characteristic of Claudian examples. Period: Claudian.

All the fragments from this layer, including forty-one unillustrated pieces, are typologically pre-Flavian and mostly Claudian or early Neronian.

Figures 9–10.

The Decorated Samian.

Nos. 1–4 and 6–11 illustrate fragments of decorated Samian from the 'red daub and ash' layer, phase 2. No. 5 is from a level almost certainly equating with the same layer. No. 12 is from the clay levelling over the demolished walls of the phase 3 building. Group 3, see p. 114.

1. Form 29. The design of the upper frieze is a well-spaced scroll with neat astragalus tendril unions except in two places where four beads are used instead. Naturalistic leaves of two sorts terminate the open tendrils, the spiral tendrils ending in sharp stellate rosettes with rings in the centres. The rather awkward join of the scroll is seen to the right. The lower frieze bears the familiar godroon design. The profile of the bowl is interesting, being full at the point of carination, straight in the upper frieze, and finely modulated in the rim. This is the earliest bowl of the series. Period: Claudian or Claudio-Neronian.

2. Form 29. The upper frieze design is a scroll of rather early type with cordate leaf and bifid tendril unions in character. The lower frieze is also a scroll, and with the same bifid unions, but of a commoner type and less carefully stamped than the upper frieze. (*Vide* the clumsy, broken tendrils to the right.) Two palmate leaves and two

[1] Oswald and Pryce, *An Introduction to the Study of Terra Sigillata* (1920).

Fig. 9. The Decorated Samian from the 'red daub and ash' layer ($\frac{1}{2}$)

sprigs (both very common) occupy the tendrils in both concavities of the scroll. Period: Neronian.

3. Form 29. Lower frieze only and portion of a base stamped CELAD[I MAN]. The stamp CEL[ADI] M[ANV] occurs at Hofheim, *c.* A.D. 40–51. The scroll is extremely neat, having bifid unions, a large cordate bud with projecting centre and large free rosettes with inner rings and dots flanking a large eight-petalled rosette or flower set in a rope-like ring. For a similar 8-bladed rosette on the upper frieze of a 29 by Celadus, see Knorr, *Töpfer und Fabriken Verzierter Terra-Sigillata des ersten Jahrhunderts* (1919), pl. 21 B. Dr. Davies Pryce adds that the typology of this bowl suggests manufacture during the decade A.D. 50–60. Period: early Neronian.

4. Form 29. Highly glazed. Upper frieze showing part of a panel with infilling of imbricated leaf-tips set horizontally, as used by the potter ARDACVS (Claudio-Neronian). This piece is, however, very much in the style of MVRRANVS and may be attributed to him. Period: early Neronian.

5 and 5a. Large fragment of a form 29 stamped ALBIИA. The design possesses the familiar straight wreath below the central moulding so characteristic of Flavian work. The upper frieze is panelled and of mixed character, having both scrolls and panels. Only three units of the scroll appear and on each side are three small panels, two filled with leaf-tips set horizontally and the third (between them) occupied by a large, eight-petalled flower similar to that used by CELADVS in no. 3, but with a different circular wreath. The lower frieze is also paralleled, the large, eight-petalled rosette appearing again (this time on a wreath similar to that used by CELADVS). In separate panels are the birds looking backward (Déchelette 1035 and 1009)[1] each perched precariously on a wavy ridge. The centre panel contains the seated monkey (Knorr 95 B) and the goose (Déchelette 1014). Free stellate rosettes with central rings in the field.

As concerns the profile, the carination is fairly sharp, the rim is large and everted, and the upper frieze also slopes outward. This profile may be compared with that of no. 1. Period: late Neronian.

6. Form 29. Upper frieze only, showing panel design with upright border of small flat beads terminated at each end by oval beads. The left-hand panel contains the dolphin (Déchelette 1049) used by MVRRANVS among others and two early annular ornaments like draughtsmen. Imbricated upright leaf-tips in the right-hand panels. Period: Claudian or early Neronian.

7. Form 29. Upper frieze: here the leaf-tips are coarser in type, approaching the Flavian examples. Two small dolphins in the right-hand panel. Period: late Neronian.

8. Form 29. Upper frieze similar to no. 6, but the upright is rope-like and has larger astragali for terminals. The leaf-tips are slightly larger. In the left-hand panel is the small dog looking back (Déchelette 924 and Knorr 8 B) as used by AQVITANVS and GENIALIS. Period: early Neronian or possibly Claudian.

9. Form 29. Upper frieze: scroll with uncommon leaf or wreath attachment to the top tendril and large rosettes similar to those used by DAMONVS and others. Period: Neronian.

10. Form 29. Upper frieze: in this case the leaf-tips are coarser still and irregular

[1] J. Déchelette, *Les Vases céramiques ornés de la Gaule romaine* (1904).

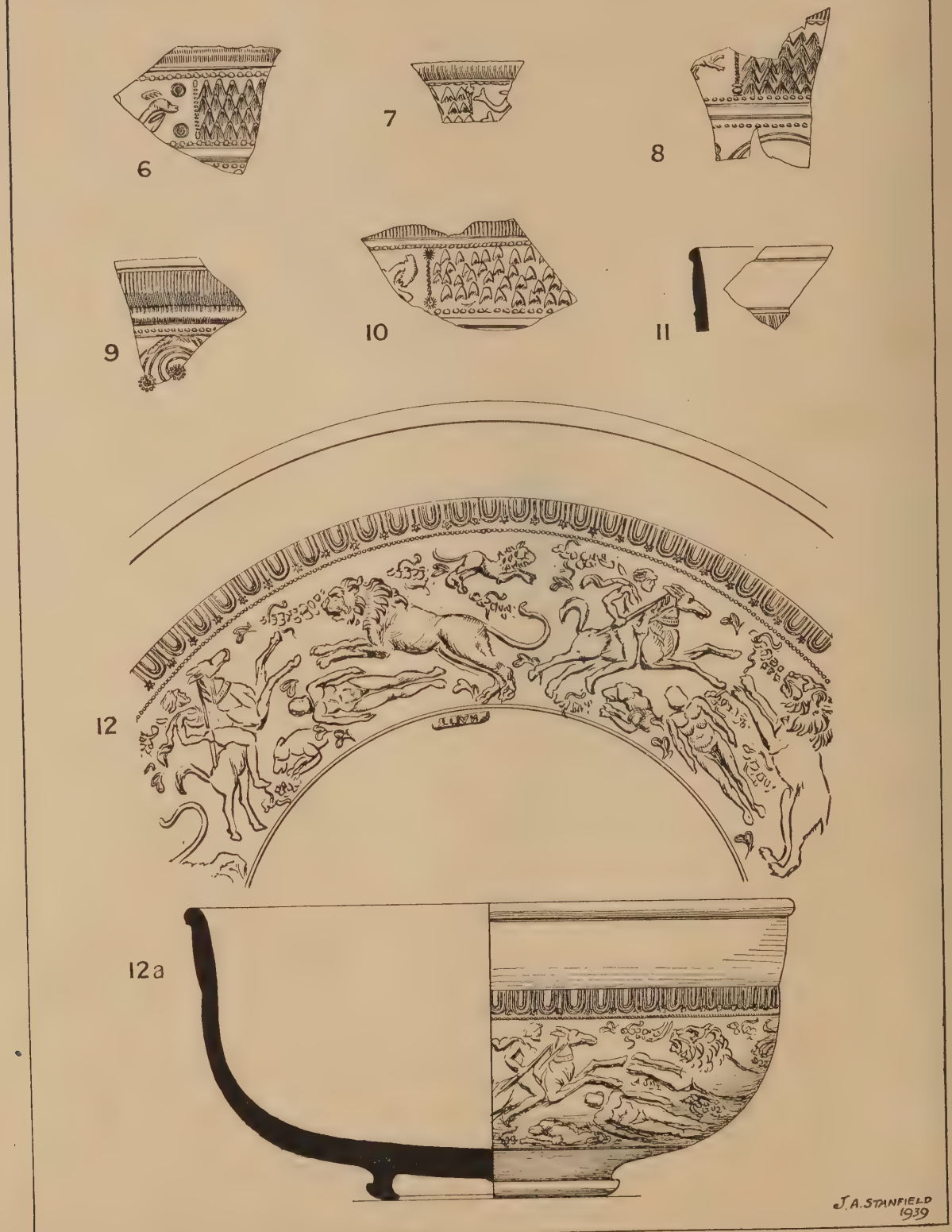


Fig. 10. The Decorated Samian: 6–11, from the 'red daub and ash' layer; 12, 12a, from group 3 levels ($\frac{1}{2}$)

in arrangement. In the left-hand panel is the goat (Déchelette 888). The upright border is a wavy ridge with sharp stellate rosettes at each end. Period: late Neronian.

11. Form 37. Good ware with a neat lip, and a narrow plain band above the ovolo. This is an early 37 usually considered to be later in date, but might easily be as early as A.D. 60, as the beginning of the manufacture is uncertain. Period: probably Neronian.

Mr. Stanfield notes that 'all this pottery is from the South Gaulish potteries and is of pre-Flavian date, although a few of the later fragments, nos. 7 and 10, are late in the reign of Nero and approach the broken piecemeal style of decoration of Flavian times. The glaze and workmanship of the fragments are generally very good and the details are in the main sharply moulded and very clear.'

12 and 12 a. Form 37. Lezoux ware stamped [A]TTIAN[O] retrograde. The tongue of the ovolo bears a stellate rosette with a circular depression in the centre. The design is in the free style and includes the horseman (Déchelette 158), the large lion (Déchelette 766), the small lion (Déchelette 746), the bear (Déchelette 820), and the nude standing man (Oswald 637), all repeated. In the field occur frequent applications of the snake-on-rock ornament (Déchelette 960 *bis*) and the ends of the acanthus calyx so frequent in bowls of the period. Every single type is Trajanic, although the large lion and the bear were used later, notably by CINNAMVS. The profile of the bowl is at least as good, if not better, evidence of date, noteworthy points being the convexity of the rim, the consequent restriction of the bowl where the rim meets the ovolo, the bulbous nature of the main parts of the bowl and the hammerhead foot-stand, well hollowed within. Period: Trajanic.

Plate XVIII, a

This plate illustrates fragments of decorated Samian from the 'red daub and ash' layer, certain of which are illustrated on figs. 9 and 10.

1–2. See fig. 9, 1 and 3.

3. Part of a form 29 with high everted rim. The coarsely rouletted upper frieze has a wreath decoration with medallion enclosing a bird looking back. The wreath binding is reduced to a blob and the small disc is probably the remains of a concentric circle. The negligent workmanship and high glaze indicate a late dating. Period: Nero–Vespasian.

4. See fig. 10, 9.

5. Form 29, upper frieze only. The design consists of a medallion with leaf and imbricated leaves which are found both in the pre-Flavian and Flavian period. The rim is high and neatly rouletted and the lip is not everted. Period: Neronian, or Nero–Vespasian.

6, 7, 8, 9. See fig. 10, nos. 8, 10, 6, 7.

10. Fragment of Albina bowl, see fig. 9, 5 and 5 a.

11. Parts of the rouletted rim of a form 29, mottled by fire. Period: Flavian rather than Claudian.

12. Part of the rouletted rim of a form 29. Period: Nero–Vespasian.

13. Part of the rouletted rim of no. 6.

14–15. Two fragments of the same bowl. See fig. 9, 2.

16 Fragment of upper frieze of a form 29. Period: pre-Flavian.

17. Part of the lower frieze of a form 29. The wreath decoration has a polygonal leaf. Period: Nero–Vespasian or pre-Flavian.

18. Fragment of a form 29 with wreath decoration, mottled by fire. Period: pre-Flavian.

19. Small fragment, mottled by fire, of the lower frieze of a 29 decorated with godroons. Period: probably pre-Flavian.

20. Fragments of form 29 bowl. See fig. 9, 1.

21. See fig. 9, 4.

22. Small fragment showing part of a wreath decoration. Period: pre-Flavian.

23. Fragment from lower frieze of a form 29 showing Nile goose as on ALBINA bowl and probably part of the same bowl, see fig. 9, 5 and 5 a.

24-5. Fragments of a form 30 showing panel decoration of upright dogs. (Cf. Oswald and Pryce, pl. IX, 3, from Hofheim, Abb. 46, 1.) This design is almost certainly pre-Flavian and probably Claudian.

B. Coarse Pottery.

Figures 11 and 12.

Group 1: Pottery from Gullies I and II and the 'green gravel' layer equating with them: phase 1.

Figs. 11 and 12 illustrate the pottery from levels representing the primary occupation of this area sealed practically everywhere by the 'red daub and ash' layer equating with the destruction of the phase 2 timber building. This pottery has been treated as a homogeneous group, for though Gully II had an upper and lower filling, Claudian Samian occurred in the lower layer, and fragments of white butt beaker were found in the upper layer. There can therefore hardly be any appreciable difference in time in the deposition of these two levels. The whole of this group is therefore of post-conquest date, and in this respect it is interesting to compare and contrast it with the latest Belgic pottery from Prae Wood, groups B, C, and D, *Verulamium Report*, figs. 11–22, the terminal date of which, it is now agreed, may be brought down to the eve of the conquest.[1] It will be seen that certain types characteristic of groups B and C, such as pedestal bases, mortar-shaped vessels, and girth-beakers, are absent. The latter occur very rarely after A.D. 40 and are not found at Claudian Hofheim, nor at Richborough. White butt beaker wares are only represented by a few stray sherds (all illustrated, pl. XIX, *c*) and the type is replaced by devolved examples in brown native ware. Only three fragments of terra nigra plates were found, fig. 11, 1 and 3, and p. 123, though actually these were not very common even in the Prae Wood Belgic levels. Platters, rough cooking-pots, and storage vessels in native ware

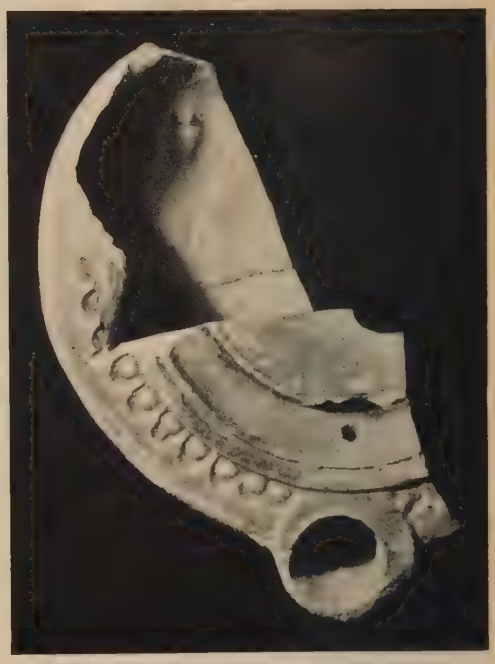
[1] *Antiq. Journ.*, xviii (1938), pp. 366–7 and note.

a. General view of Building I from the E., showing the east wall and apse (phase 4) and the masonry block behind the apse (phase 5). The ranging-pole stands in the conduit (phase 3) (see pp. 87, 88)

b. Building I (phase 5) from the NE., showing the monumental entrance facing Watling Street and the foundations of the side entrance (see p. 88)

a. Decorated Samian ware from the 'red daub and ash' layer (see figs. 9 and 10, and p. 103)

b. Miscellaneous objects. 1, 2, bone 'toggles'; 3, pottery unguent receptacle; 4, glass 'tear' bottle; 5, iron calthrop (½) (see p. 93)



c. Clay lamp from 'red daub and ash' layer (½) (see p. 94)

and of Prae Wood type are still common; on the other hand, vessels in hard, sandy, yellow ware with angular rim forms are now appearing which would be distinctly out of place in purely Belgic levels.

A terminal date *c.* A.D. 50–55 is suggested for this group. This allows for the disappearance of certain types which are absent from the occupation levels of the succeeding phase, e.g. platters and butt beakers in brown native ware (fig. 11, 4–8, and fig. 12, 43–6), and vessels of native type with everted rims (fig. 11, 22–9) typical of the present group. On general grounds the marked increase of imported Roman types among the pottery of phase 2 also warrants such a dating for this end of the bracket. This is further supported by the latest datable sherd of Samian which is 'probably Neronian'.

1. Part of a terra nigra plate in grey ware with glossy grey surface. The foot-stand is functional and the form still close to the Arretine prototype (Haltern, Loeschcke, type 1 A)[1] from which the Belgic plate, Loeschcke's type 72 B a, is derived. (For parts of two stamped bases, see p. 123.)

2. Plate in hard grey ware lacking the glossy surface of terra nigra. A variant of no. 1. Cf. *Colchester Mus. Rep.* (1928), pl. VIII, 6285.27, which also has a dull surface.

3. Fragment of a terra nigra plate in grey ware with glossy black surface. A highly devolved type for which it is not easy to find a continental prototype. This is the commonest form of plate at Colchester (see *Colchester Mus. Rep.*, 1929, pl. VIII, 6332.27) and at North Ferriby (see *Antiq. Journ.*, xviii, 1938, fig. 2, 6–10). Previous examples from Verulamium come from both purely Belgic and Claudian levels (see *Verulamium Report*, fig. 23, 9).

4. Plate of dark brown ware with matt surface. The foot-stand is barely functional. This is a devolved version in native ware of Ritterling's type 97 A b (Hofheim). Examples in native ware also occur at Colchester (see *Colchester Mus. Rep.*, 1928, pl. VIII, 6749.27, and Colchester type 29 C).[2]

5. Part of a plate in dark brown ware, a native copy of Loeschcke's type 73 A from Haltern. Divergent examples of the same form in orange-grey ware were common in groups B–D from Prae Wood (see *Verulamium Report*, fig. 12, 21; and fig. 23, 12).

6, 7, 8. Variants of the preceding: no. 8 has a black polished surface.

9. Cup in dark brown ware with polished surface. A devolved native imitation of the Arretine form, Loeschcke, type 8 (Haltern). Cf. also Hofheim (Ritterling, type 103 A). Similar cups found at Colchester (type 57) have the same polished surface and heavy profile.

10. Part of a jug in soft orange ware. This type of rim is unusual and the exaggerated lip occurs normally on examples of late date. The form may be compared to Ritterling's type 50 (Hofheim, Abb. 62, 6).

[1] S. Loeschcke, 'Keramische Funde in Haltern', *Mitteilungen der Altertums-Kommission für Westfalen*, v, 1909.

[2] The Colchester type numbers are those of Mr. M. R. Hull's series from the Colchester Excavations, photographs of which I have seen, and to which I am referring with Mr. Hull's kind permission.

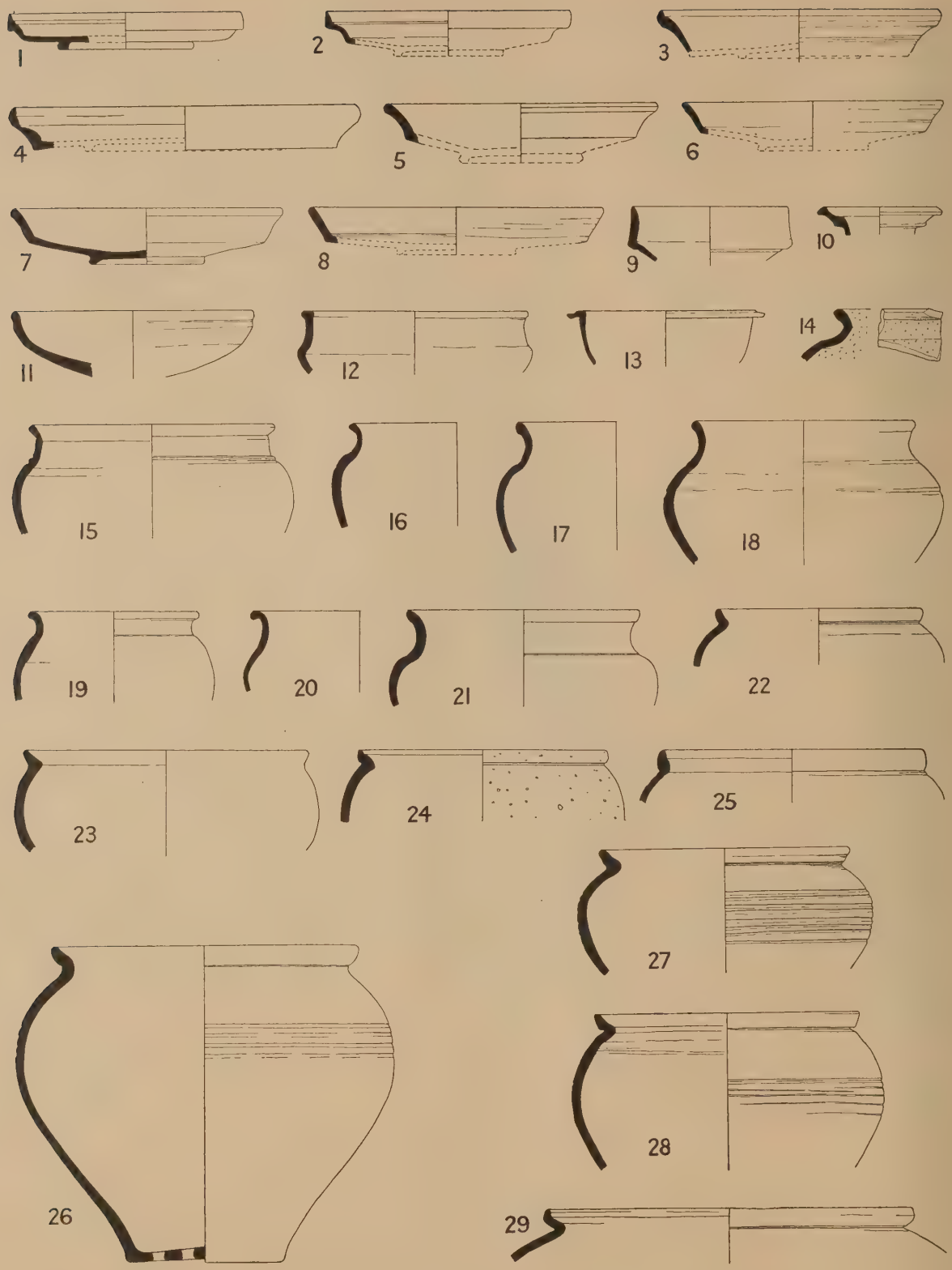


Fig. 11. Group 1: Pottery from Gullies I and II and the 'green gravel' layer equating with them: phase 1 ($\frac{1}{4}$)

11. Dish of coarse black ware with rough surface.

12. Bowl of black ware polished on the neck.

13. Small bowl of hard grey ware with flanged rim. Flanged bowls first appear in the Augustan period. The type becomes increasingly common in the Flavian period and continues till after the middle of the second century A.D. (see fig. 12, 8–15).

14. Rim and shoulder of vessel in dark grey corky ware containing shell grits.

15–21. A series of vessels, for the most part of good, hard ware, brown, grey, or buff, with smooth or burnished surface. They have grooves at the base of the neck and sometimes on the shoulder. No. 20 has a finely moulded rim. Such vessels are common in this level, but appear to be exceptional in purely Belgic deposits at Verulamium (see *Verulamium Report*, fig. 18, 58; and fig. 21, 70).

22–9. A series of vessels in grey or brown ware with everted rim probably intended to take a lid. This type is rare at Prae Wood (cf. *Verulamium Report*, fig. 18, nos. 53, 55, and 56). The band of rough horizontal combing or grooving on the shoulder of some of these pots, and the ware itself is, however, still in the native tradition. Nos. 22, 23, and 27 have a smooth, polished surface.

30–3. Jars of hard, sandy, buff ware having rims with an angular profile. These pots clearly reflect Roman influence both in ware and rim form.

34–6. This type of cooking-pot in blackish-brown ware, roughly combed, grooved, or brushed, is the commonest in the Prae Wood groups (see *Verulamium Report*, fig. 19, 61) but tends to disappear after the conquest though it survives into phase 2 levels. The rims of only five such pots were found in the 'green gravel' layer. No. 34 has a polished zone between the neck and shoulder.

37. Part of a mortarium in soft, creamy ware. This early wall-sided form with deeply undercut flange could be derived either from Loeschcke's type 59 from Haltern or Ritterling's type 79 from Hofheim. The Colchester excavations have proved that mortaria do not appear in this country till after the conquest (Colchester type 191 A).

38. Large coarse storage vessel in pinkish ware fired grey in parts. The shoulder is decorated with bands of oblique striations and the body below is brushed vertically and horizontally.

39, 40. Rims of two large storage jars in orange-buff ware, no. 39 is decorated with a roughly combed horizontal wavy pattern round the shoulder. Large roll rimmed vessels are also a common Belgic type and survive well into the post-conquest period, though the rims tend to be more angular and the ware harder (see *Verulamium Report*, fig. 18, 60 a and b).

41. Fragment of butt beaker in thin, hard, dirty white ware, finely rouletted (see also, pl. XIX, *c*). Similar sherds were associated with no. 42 below and probably belonged to the same vessel (cf. *Verulamium Report*, pl. LV A).

42. Rim of beaker in same ware as preceding. The rim is not bevelled on the inside but very faintly convex. For a discussion of the typology of beakers see P. Corder in *Antiq. Journ.*, xviii (1938), p. 267 and fig. 4. Beakers in this ware are found in large numbers at Colchester and it is believed that they were manufactured in that locality.

43. Part of a beaker in brownish ware. The rim hooks down but it is slightly concave on the inside. Probably of local make, see no. 44 below.

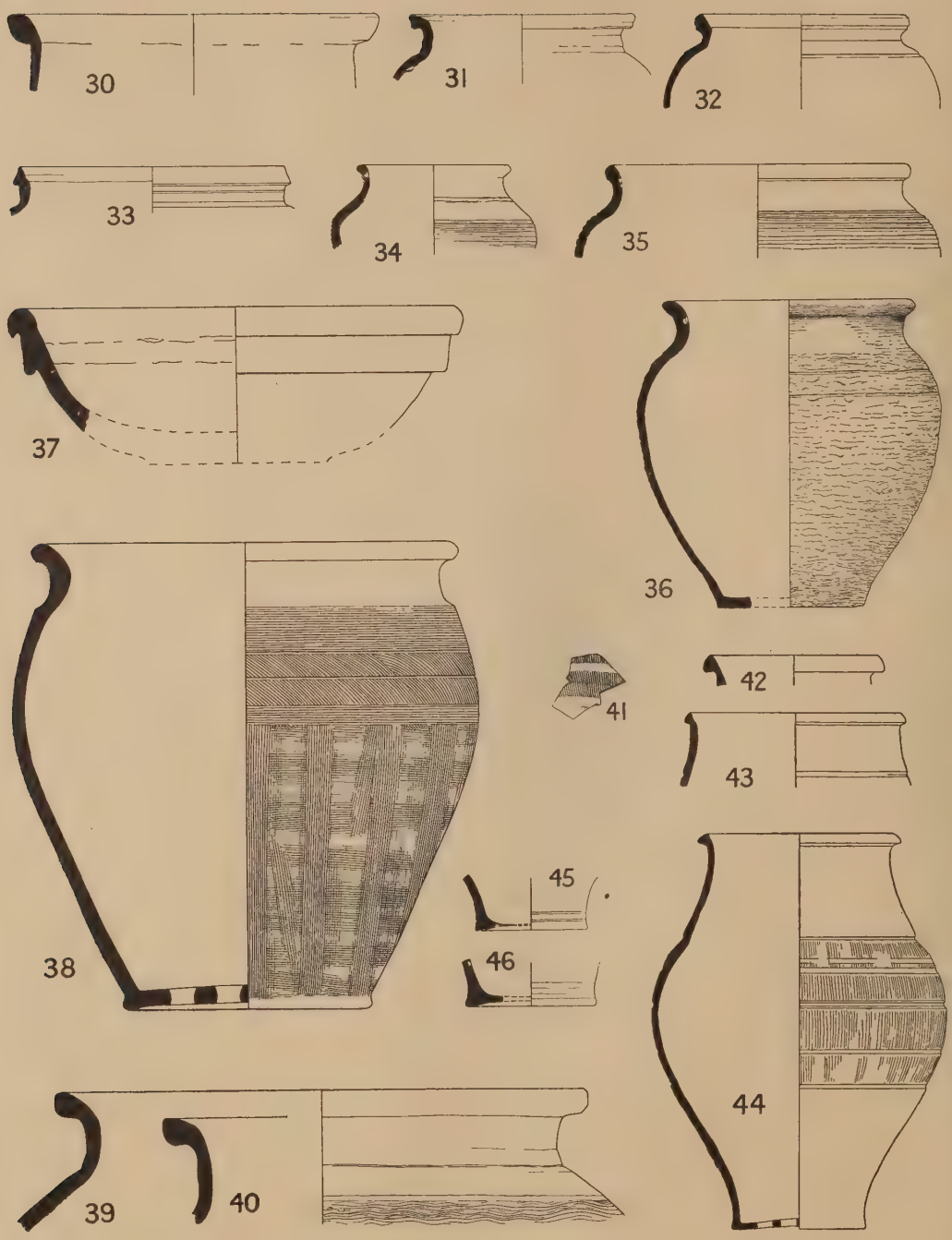


Fig. 12. Group 1: Pottery from Gullies I and II and the 'green gravel' layer equating them: phase 1 ($\frac{1}{4}$)

44. Well-proportioned butt beaker in same ware as preceding, decorated with horizontal girth grooves and faint vertical striations. The base is pierced to serve as a strainer. The rim forms of this example and of no. 45 come comparatively late in Mr. P. Corder's typological series (*Antiq. Journ.*, xviii (1938), p. 267 and fig. 4), somewhere between the Hofheim example (Ritterling, type 102) and a beaker from Verulamium, in similar ware, found with an inhumation burial post-dating the construction of Watling Street, *c.* A.D. 50 (*Verulamium Report*, fig. 34, 54). The latter, however, has a squat globular body. Cf. also Colchester type 119 B.

45–6. Bases of two beakers in hard brown ware. See no. 44 above.

Figures 13 and 14.

Group 2: Pottery from the 'red daub and ash' layer, phase 2.

The pottery forming this group is derived from a thick layer of charred material resulting from the burning of the phase 2 timber building. It has been suggested that the terminal date of this phase might be identified with the destruction of the city in A.D. 61. A late Neronian date is claimed for certain fragments of the Samian pottery but the coarse pottery from the group consists mainly of types found on Claudian sites both on the continent and in Britain. The group directly overlies group 1 (*c.* A.D. 45–55) and may on all grounds be ascribed to the reign of Nero, with or without a Boudiccan context. It will be observed that of the Samian sherds twenty-three are classified as Claudian, eleven as Neronian, eight as Nero–Vespasian, and thirty-six as pre-Flavian.

1. Dish with incurved rim in grey ware, with smooth blackish-brown surface. Possibly a very devolved copy of a Belgic plate in native ware.

2. Dish of hard grey ware with smooth yellowish surface.

3. Dish of grey ware with dark brown burnished surface.

4. 'Pompeian red' dish of soft buff ware, coated on the inside and just over the outside edge of the rim with a dark red slip; the outer wall has an orange surface and is mica dusted. Dishes in this ware have been found at Haltern (Loeschcke, type 75 B), but the present example has the incurved rim of Ritterling's type 100 from Hofheim. Similar dishes have also been found in large numbers at Colchester (*Trans. Essex Arch. Soc.*, xix (1930), pl. II, 5). Mr. Hull distinguishes two grades in this ware. The present example has the soft paste and deep red slip of grade 2. Part of a lid (not illustrated) was also found. Fragments of similar ware occurred in the first-century levels at Richborough (*Second Richborough Report*, pl. XXXI, 161).

5. 'Pompeian red' dish, see above, no. 4.

6. Flanged bowl of soft soapy ware with dark brown slip. Bowls with plain or reeded rims are very common in later Roman levels (see fig. 15, nos. 8–15), one was found with group 1 in the 'green gravel' layer (fig. 11, 13).

7. Part of a biconical bowl with deeply undercut flange in hard, sandy grey ware. Cf. *First Richborough Report*, pl. XXI, 11, from a Claudian pit.

8. Flanged bowl in hard, smooth, drab ware.

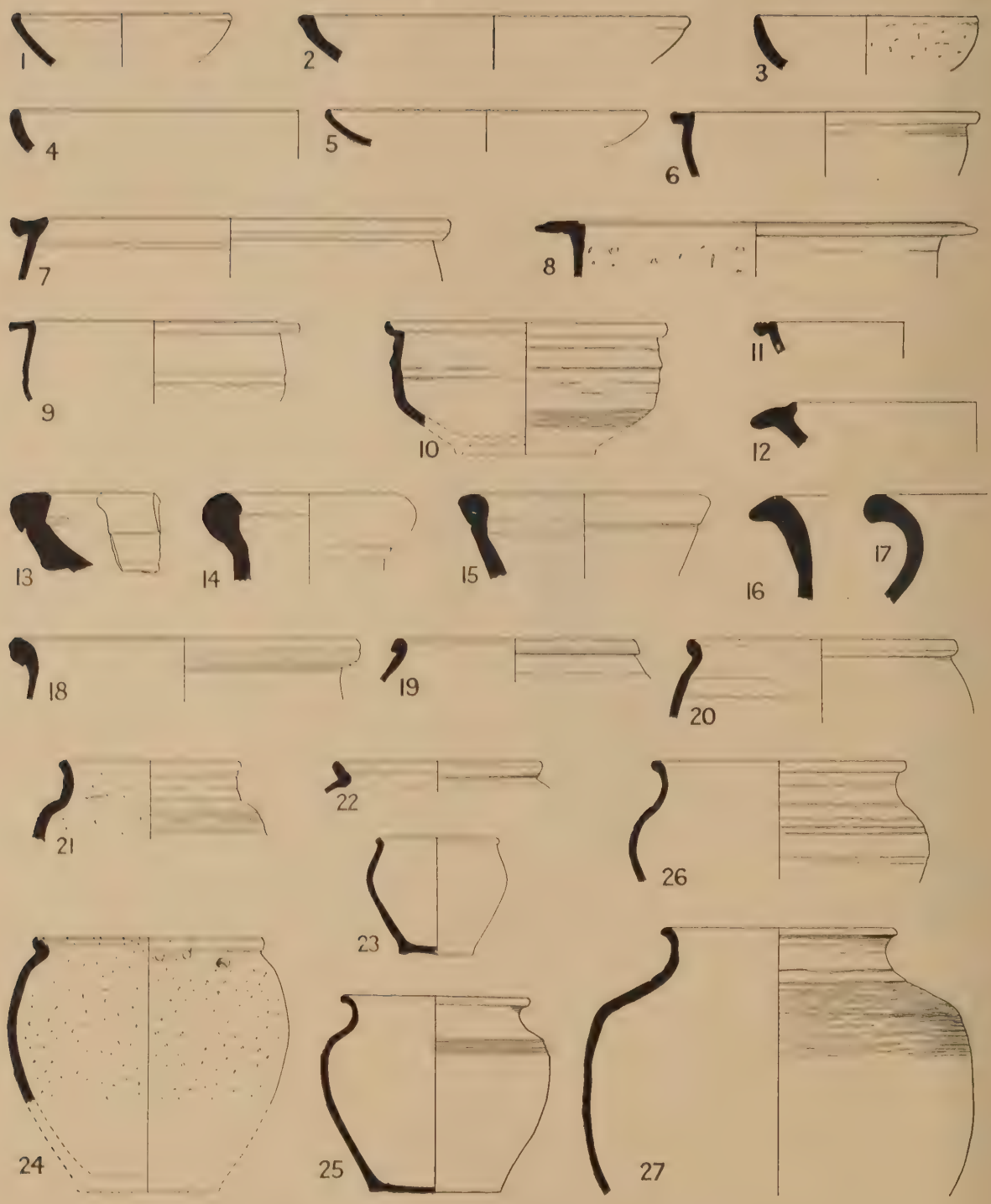


Fig. 13. Group 2: Pottery from the 'red daub and ash' layer: phase 2 ($\frac{1}{4}$)

9. Bowl with finely cut flange in hard, sandy grey ware with wide girth grooves.

10. Flanged bowl in hard, sandy dark grey ware, corrugated above the carination and decorated with horizontal wavy brushing below; the rim is rebated to take a lid.

11. Part of a bowl with reeded flange in hard sandy buff ware.

12. Mortarium rim in pinkish-buff ware, covered inside and over the flange with a white slip. For this form with almost horizontal rim see Hofheim (Ritterling, type 80). Cf. also *Third Richborough Report*, pl. XLI, 354, dated A.D. 40–60, and Colchester type 192.

13. Mortarium rim of hard creamy ware. The type is common at Haltern (Loeschcke, type 59) and is also found at Hofheim (Ritterling, type 79, fig. 78, 3). Cf. an example from North Ferriby, dated A.D. 1–50 (*The Naturalist*, no. 992 (1939), fig. 2, 26), and another from Richborough dated A.D. 45–75 (*Third Richborough Report*, pl. XLI, 348). Cf. also a variant of Colchester type 191.

14–16. Amphora rims in drab or buff ware. See pl. XX, *b*, which illustrates amphora handles from this level.

17. Part of a large roll-rimmed storage jar of orange-buff ware. A familiar Belgic type which survives into the Claudio-Neronian period.

18. Rim of jar in hard sandy ware. Vessels in similar Romanized ware appear already in the earlier 'green gravel' layer.

19. Rim of vessel in same ware as preceding.

20. Part of a vessel in hard grey ware.

21. Small jar in coarse brown ware with rough horizontal combing on the shoulder. Cf. no. 26, below.

22. Part of a vessel with everted rim in sandy brown ware.

23. Small pot in blackish-buff ware.

24. Jar of coarse buff to orange ware containing large grits. The rim is grooved on the inside to seat a lid.

25. Small cooking-pot of coarse brown ware. The rough horizontal combing of earlier examples has been replaced by more regular grooving. Fragments of four similar pots were found in this layer but the type is rare in post-conquest levels.

26. Vessel in black burnished ware, faintly grooved on the shoulder.

27. Large vessel in brownish ware with burnished surface and grooved at the base of the neck.

28. Jug neck of fine soapy ware, the rim hollowed on the inside.

29–31. Screw-necked jugs. This type which evolved from a form with reeded flange first appears towards the close of the reign of Tiberius. Only a few fragments of the type are recorded from Claudian Hofheim, but a closely dated series, unfortunately unpublished, were found in the St. Matthias graves at Trier.[1]

29. Three-ringed screw-necked jug of sandy orange ware. This and no. 30, below, are comparable to two jugs from Trier found with a coin of Claudius and a coin of Nero respectively and may therefore be attributed to the Claudio-Neronian period.

30. Fragment of screw-necked jug of fine sandy red ware with white slip. See no. 29 above.

[1] I am indebted to Dr. R. E. M. Wheeler for the loan of his notes on Rhenish pottery of the Roman period.

31. Four-ringed screw-necked jug of soapy drab ware. A closely analogous form was found in a grave at Trier dated A.D. 30–40. Fragments of a similar jug are recorded from Hofheim (Ritterling, type 52).

32. Rim of jug in hard sandy creamy ware with undercut flange. This may be compared to Loeschcke's type 47 (Abb. 24, 3 a), from Haltern. Jugs with rims of similar form

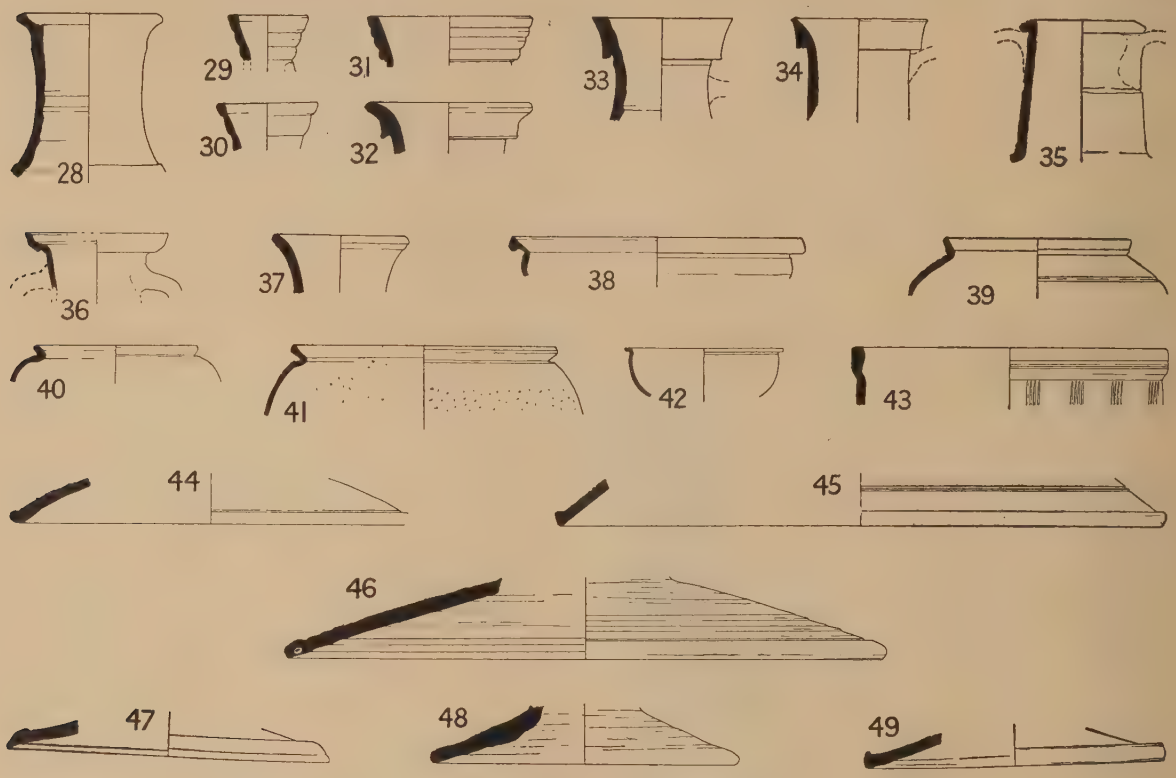


Fig. 14. Group 2: Pottery from the 'red daub and ash' layer: phase 2 ($\frac{1}{4}$)

from Xanten are dated to the Claudio-Neronian period, but the undercutting of the flange is an early feature which hardly outlasts the reign of Claudius.

33. Part of a jug in similar ware to preceding. Again an early type and possibly a variant of no. 32.

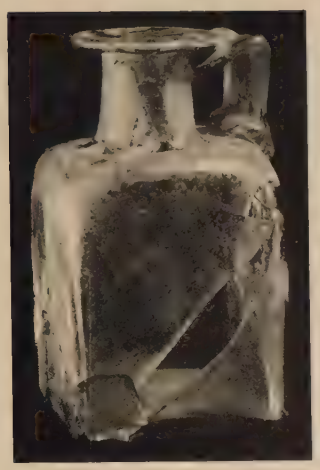
34. Neck of jug in same ware as nos. 32 and 33. In this type the flange retains a vertical outline and the lip is not developed as in the later variants of nos. 32 and 33. An analogous jug from Trier is dated to the Claudian period. Cf. also Hofheim (Ritterling, type 50 A).

35. Two-handled jug of hard gritty greyish-buff ware. Cf. Hofheim (Ritterling, type 57).

36. Part of a jug with cylindrical handles in soft grey-buff ware.

37. Rim of jug in sandy yellow ware.

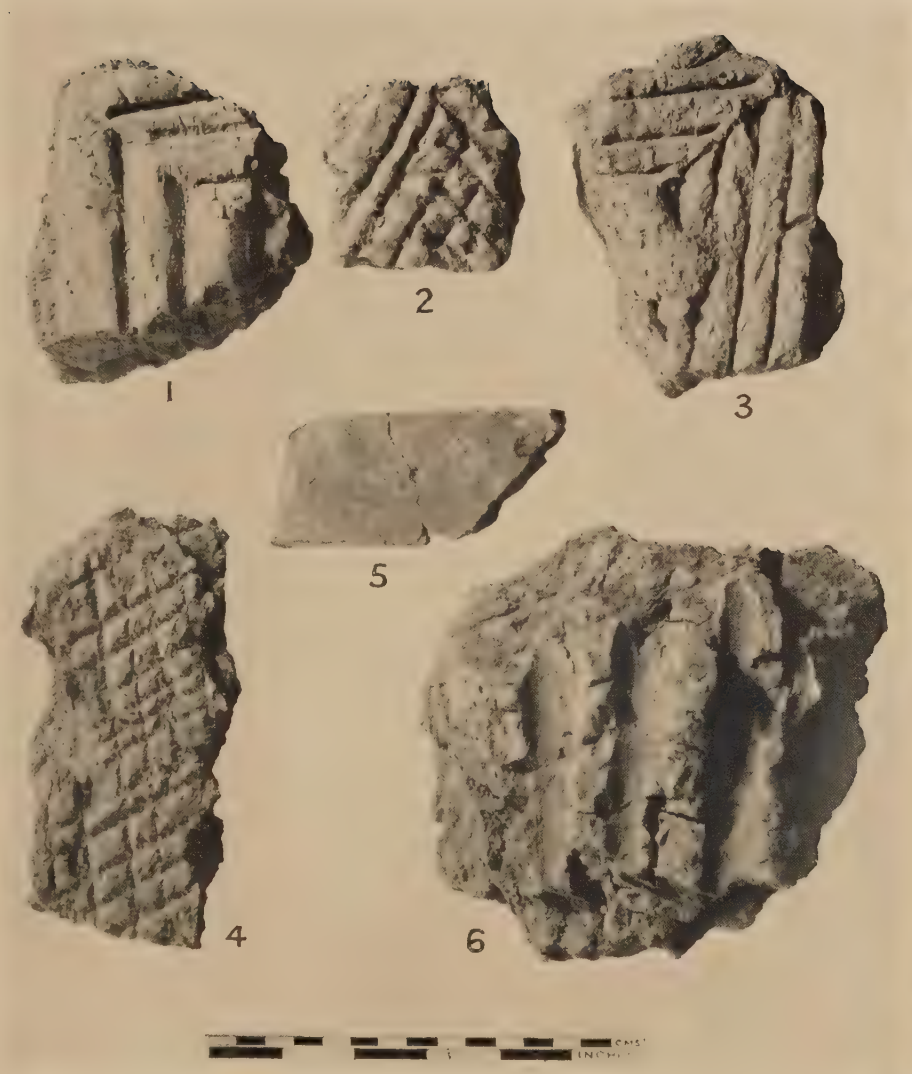
38. Bowl in fine buff ware with smooth surface. The rim is bevelled and grooved on the inner side and the shoulder alone is covered with a dark red slip.



a. Glass cinerary bottle associated with group 5 pottery (see p. 94)

b. Bone needles and pins ($\frac{1}{2}$) (see p. 94)

c. 1, Fragment of yellow beaker from 'red daub and ash' layer; 2–8, white beaker fragments from 'green gravel' layer (see p. 113)



a. 1–4, 6, burnt daub; 5, Belgic brick, from 'red daub and ash' layer (see p. 94)

b. 1, 2, 4–7, amphora handles; 3, 'carrot-shaped' amphora, from 'red daub and ash' layer (see p. 113)

39. Beaker with almost upright rim in fine hard grey ware with brownish-red slip. For the rim form cf. *Third Richborough Report*, pl. XXXIX, 299, dated A.D. 50–75.

40. Beaker with sharply moulded and deeply undercut everted rim. In fine hard orange ware with a pale yellow surface. Typologically this is an early example of a form which first appears in the reign of Augustus. See no. 41, below.

41. Rough cast beaker of hard brittle brown ware, with dark bronze slip. The sharply everted rims found on both plain and rough cast forms is an indication of early date. Rough cast beakers occur at Hofheim (Ritterling, type 25 A). Cf. also no. 40 above, and see *Third Richborough Report*, pl. XXXIX, 298, dated to the Claudio-Neronian period.

42. Small flanged bowl of very fine white ware coated with a brown slip.

43. Part of a bowl in hard drab sandy ware with a white slip on the outer wall and just inside the rim. Apparently made in imitation of the Samian forms 29 or 30. The wall is decorated with bands of vertical grooves.

44. Lid of reddish sandy ware.

45. Lid in hard brown ware, mica dusted.

46. Lid of pinkish-buff ware, corrugated inside and out.

47. Lid of buff ware.

48. Lid in coarse grey-brown ware.

49. Lid in ware similar to no. 47.

Plate XX, b

This plate illustrates fragments of amphorae derived from the 'red daub and ash' level, phase 2. For a general discussion of amphorae types see R. E. M. Wheeler, London Museum Catalogue, no. 3, *London in Roman Times* (1930), pp. 140–3. The group numbers below refer to this article.

1. 'Peaked' handle of smooth buff ware (group B). This type is found at Haltern (Loeschcke, type 87). An example from Richborough is dated mid first century A.D. (see *First Richborough Report*, pl. XXII, 25). At Caerleon they occur in deposits dated as late as A.D. 75 (see *Archaeologia*, lxxviii, p. 186).

2. Fragment of a 'carrot-shaped' amphora of smooth sandy ware, mottled by fire (group A). Ritterling's type 75 from Hofheim. See *Third Richborough Report*, pl. XXXII, 196, from a pit dated A.D. 50–75. This type is not found at Haltern.

3. Amphora handle of coarse drab ware, perhaps with a vestigial peak.

4. Straight acute-angled handle of coarse drab ware (group C). Cf. Haltern (Loeschcke, type 69) and Hofheim (Ritterling, type 72). At Caerleon these survive into the reign of Trajan.

5, 6, 7. Rounded handles from amphorae of an early type common at Pompeii (group E). No. 5 is stamped upwards, see p. 123.

Plate XIX, c

1. Fragment of a beaker in thin hard yellow ware decorated with a horseshoe ornament and dots in barbotine. This should be compared with an almost whole beaker, fig. 19,

2, decorated with 'tears' in barbotine. Beakers in similar ware were found at Hofheim (Ritterling, type 26 B b). From the 'red daub and ash' layer.

2–8. Fragments of white butt beaker decorated with bands of fine engine turning. These represent the total of pieces found in the earliest occupation layer on the site. Cf. with this *Verulamium Report*, pl. LV A, 3–6, found with Prae Wood group B, and for a rim in this ware see above, fig. 12, 42.

Figure 15.

Group 3: Pottery from levels immediately antedating or contemporary with the demolition of Building I, phase 3.

This group illustrates the main types of pottery from levels bearing upon the dating of the rebuild of phase 4. The bulk of the material came from the clay and rubbish which was spread over the foundations of the demolished half of Building I, phase 3, to level up that area, while the remainder is derived either from that portion of the water channel which then went out of use or from the silt sealed by the raising of the bottom of the channel. Taken altogether the group naturally includes earlier material, but the bulk of the pottery is Hadrianic in date and none of the sherds needs be later than A.D. 160. The associated Samian ranges from early Flavian down to roughly mid-Antonine, the latest fragments (given in detail on p. 87) include part of a form 37 attributed to the period A.D. 150–160 and the base of a form 33 bearing the Pan Rock stamp MATERNNI . M.

1. Wide-mouthed jar of grey ware having a cordon at the base of the neck and decorated with horizontal smoothed bands round the neck and zones of smoothed lattice-work on the shoulder. The prototype of this jar is found in late Belgic levels at Verulamium (*Verulamium Report*, fig. 36, 74 and 75). Cf. a vessel from a Hadrianic deposit at Verulamium (*Verulamium Report*, fig. 35, 66) and another from the Hedgerley kilns (*Records of Bucks.*, xiii (1937), pl. xi, 1) which were chiefly active in the early and mid-Antonine period.

2. Jar in hard buff ware having a feeble cordon at the base of the neck. The shape of the rim is very similar to preceding and the colour of the vessel may be due to under-firing. Cf. an undecorated vessel from the Hedgerley kilns (*Records of Bucks.*, xiii (1937), pl. xi, 2).

3. Jar in buff ware with a feeble cordon at the base of the neck.

4. Wide-mouthed jar of grey ware decorated with a zone of smoothed vertical lines, see no. 1 above.

5. Vessel of orange-buff ware. Cf. *Verulamium Report*, fig. 31, 41. Hadrianic.

6. Rim of small jar in dark grey ware decorated with smoothed horizontal lines round the neck and bands of smoothed almost vertical strokes on the shoulder.

7. Part of a narrow-mouthed vessel in hard grey ware. The shoulder below the neck is grooved to give an effect of cordons. Probably of early second-century date. See fig. 16, 4, for a later example.

Fig. 15. Group 3: Pottery from levels immediately antedating or contemporary with demolition of Building I, phase 3 ($\frac{1}{4}$)

8–15. This series of flanged bowls in pale brown or buff ware is probably of local manufacture, many examples being so poorly made as to suggest wasters. Bowls with plain or reeded flanges begin in the Belgic period and examples were found in groups 1 and 2 (fig. 11, 13; and fig. 13, 6-9). The bowls have been dated on an analogy with the Caerleon series (*Archaeologia*, lxxviii, fig. 19, 1–15) where the angle formed by the flange with the shoulder is taken into account. No. 8 with its neat, deeply undercut flange might well be pre-Flavian; nos. 9, 11, and 12 are probably Flavian. For no. 10 cf. *Third Richborough Report*, pl. xxxiv, 220 and 222, dated A.D. 80–120. Nos. 13–15 are highly devolved examples and come at the very end of a series which dies out at the end of the Antonine period.[1]

16, 17. Two vessels with reeded flange in similar ware to nos. 8–15. The form like that of the bowls is of early origin and biconical bowls with reeded rims are found in Claudian levels at Richborough (*First Richborough Report*, pl. xxi, 11). Large carinated urns with reeded flange are common in the St. Stephen's burial groups at Verulamium (see *Trans. of the St. Albans and Herts. Architect. and Arch. Soc.* (1935), fig. 18) and are dated to the period A.D. 90–150.

18. Five-ringed screw-necked jug of yellow ware. Hadrianic. The neck is shorter and more splayed than that of a jug from Brecon (see R. E. M. Wheeler, *The Roman Fort near Brecon* (1926), fig. 98, C. 34) dated A.D. 100–140, but the jug is probably earlier than an early Antonine jug from Balmuidy (see Miller, *The Roman Fort at Balmuidy* (1922), pl. xliii, 3). Cf. also *First Wroxeter Report*, fig. 17, 1.

19. Four-ringed screw-necked jug of drab ware. Hadrian–Antonine. Cf. a very similar jug-neck from the Verulamium Theatre assigned to shortly after the middle of the second century A.D. (*Archaeologia*, lxxxiv, fig. 10, 4).

20. Four-ringed screw-necked jug of creamy ware. The uppermost ring is grooved on the inner side. Hadrianic.

21. Five-ringed screw-necked jug of yellow ware. The long neck is an early feature. Trajanic. Cf. *First Wroxeter Report*, fig. 17, 3, dated A.D. 110–130.

22–3. Two mortaria of a type found in the first half of the second century A.D. No. 22 is stamped [D]OIVN (see p. 124).

24. Small mortarium stamped FEC[IT]. The name of the maker would appear on the other side of the spout. First half of the second century A.D.

25. Small bowl of grey ware. The rim is moulded and has a glossy black slip, and the wall below is decorated with a pattern of smoothed lattice-work. Probably an imitation of the Samian form 30. Cf. *First Wroxeter Report*, fig. 17, 11. Such forms appear to be common in the late first century A.D.

26. Flagon with pinched-in figure-of-eight mouth. First half of the second century A.D.

27. Large roll-rimmed storage vessel in coarse buff ware containing large shell grits. A Romanized version of the Belgic roll-rimmed jars perhaps of late first-century date, but which as a type continued in use throughout the second century.

[1] Since this report was written, Mr. Corder in his article on 'Pit 6' pottery from Verulamium (*Antiq. Journ.*, xxi (1941), 274) concludes that the 'angle of rim with shoulder' method of dating these bowls does not apply at Verulamium.

Figure 16.

Group 4: Pottery from Pit 2 (see p. 87).

The pottery illustrated on fig. 13 was derived from Pit 2 which post-dated the erection of the west wall of the phase 3 building, *c.* A.D. 160. The associated Samian consisted of a form 45, dated *c.* A.D. 170–250, and a fragment of a late second-century form 33. This group may be compared to that from the well in Building IV 8, *Verulamium Report*, figs. 27, 28, dated *c.* A.D. 160–190, which, however, included only four sherds of Castor ware. As this ware does not become common at Verulamium till the close of the Antonine period the pottery from Pit 2 may as a group be ascribed to the late second or early third century A.D.

1. Bowl in black ware. This and nos. 2–3 are common in the late second and early third centuries A.D.

2. Bowl in same ware as above, decorated with a smoothed pattern of interlacing arcs.

3. Platter of black ware with similar decoration to no. 2.

4. Large vessel of hard grey ware with smooth surface and a cordon round the base of the neck; the shoulder is decorated with two zones of smoothed lattice-work separated by horizontal lines. The form is ultimately derived from a Belgic prototype (see *Verulamium Report*, fig. 34, 60) and earlier second-century examples from the Caistor and Hedgerley kilns (see *Journ. Roman Studies*, xxii (1932), pl. xi, K 2, K 3, and *Records of Bucks.*, xiii (1937), pl. ix, 11) still have vestigial cordons on the shoulder which, on the present vessel, are merely indicated by pairs of smoothed horizontal lines dividing the decorated zones. The sagging outline of this vessel also suggests a late date in the series. Cf. also a pot from Verulamium found with early second-century pottery (*Verulamium Report*, fig. 35, 62).

5. Large bowl of sandy buff ware with reeded rim and pierced through the base to serve as a strainer. Cf. *Verulamium Report*, fig. 28, 20, from the well dated A.D. 160–190.

6. Castor ware beaker with metallic greeny-brown slip decorated with a scroll pattern 'en barbotine'. Fragments of at least four other beakers were found in this group, not counting nos. 6–9.

7. Folded Castor ware beaker with dark grey metallic slip.

8. Beaker similar to no. 7 but with a dull orange-brown slip and decorated with a rouletted pattern.

9. Part of a Castor ware beaker with dull black slip and similar decoration to no. 8.

10, 11. Two vessels in buff ware of a type common in this period. Fragments of several similar pots were found in this group. Cf. *Verulamium Report*, fig. 28, 19 (A.D. 150–190).

12. Three-handled face urn of buff ware with a frilled edging below the rim. This kind of pot has a remote ancestry but the immediate prototype of the present example is found in Germany (Ritterling, type 83), in the Claudian period at Hofheim, and in the Claudian and Flavian periods at Cologne.[1] At Heddernheim they were being made in

[1] A few dubious scraps of face urn are recorded from Augustan Haltern (Loeschcke, type 44, p. 223).

the reign of Antoninus Pius. Like the frilled incense cups these vessels have funerary associations. Two of eight such urns in the Colchester Museum (*Colchester Cat.*, pl. LI A)[1] were found in burials associated with second-century lamps and ring-necked jugs of a type

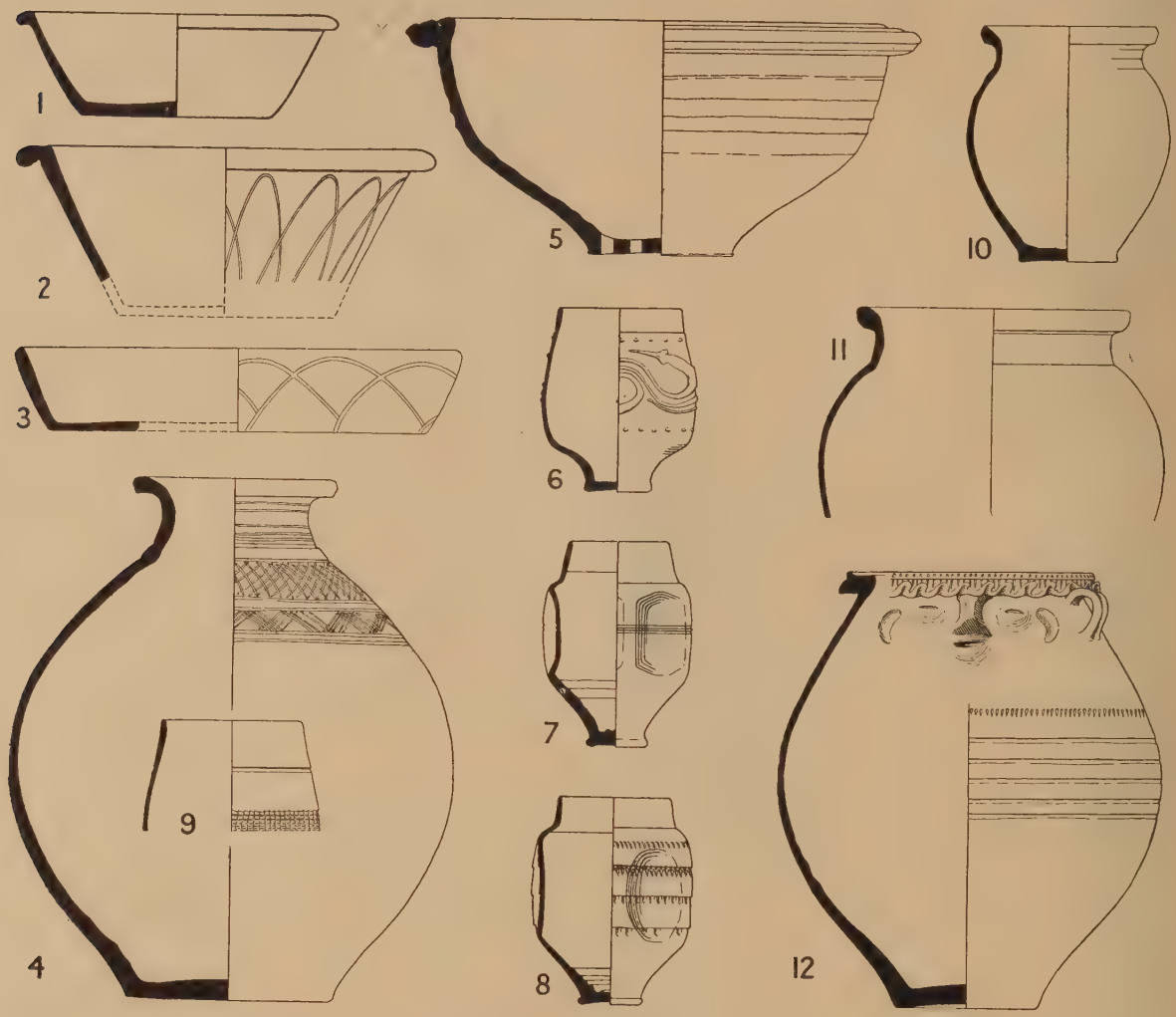


Fig. 16. Group 4: Pottery from Pit 2 ($\frac{1}{4}$)

dated A.D. 120–150 (*ibid.*, pl. LXXXV, 84, and XC, 13). A similar urn from Verulamium was from a pit dated *c.* A.D. 120–160 (see *Verulamium Report*, fig. 31, 33).

Figure 17.

Group 5: Pottery from Pit 3 and a contemporary sandy deposit (*see p. 88*).

Shortly after the rebuild of phase 4 a sandy, water-laid deposit accumulated outside the east wall of Building I, likewise filling and sealing a pit (Pit 3) which

[1] T. May, *Catalogue of the Roman Pottery in Colchester and Essex Museum* (1930).

possibly briefly antedated it. The coarse pottery from the sandy deposit was associated with a coin of Hadrian (A.D. 117–138) and a coin of Antoninus Pius (A.D. 138–161) both very worn, together with Antonine Samian, while the pottery

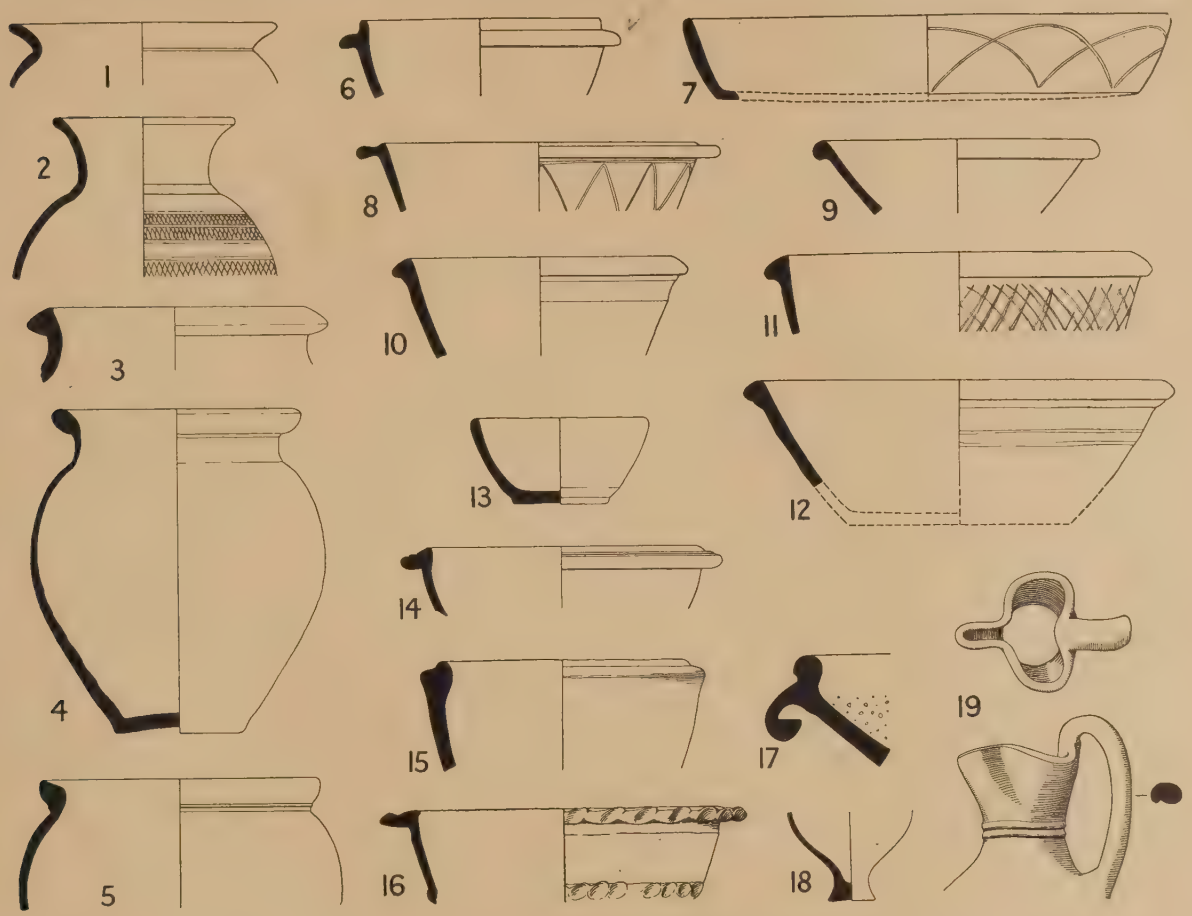


Fig. 17. Group 5: Pottery from Pit 3 and a contemporary sandy deposit ($\frac{1}{4}$)

from Pit 3 included a Samian[1] form 45 dated A.D. 170–250. Taken together the group may be attributed to the first half of the second century A.D.

1. Jar in grey ware with late second-century cavetto rim. From the sandy deposit.

2. Poppyhead vessel in grey ware, decorated with zones of smoothed lattice-work. From Pit 3. See *Third Richborough Report*, pl. XL, 324, for a beaker decorated with zones of rouletting, from a deposit dating up to the third century A.D.

3. Jar in very hard reddish ware with drab surface. From the sandy deposit.

4. Small vessel in buff sandy ware, several examples of which were found in Pit 2 (see fig. 16, 10 and 11). From the sandy deposit.

[1] The Samian forms are enumerated on p. 88.

5. Jar in porridgy buff ware. The form is reminiscent of certain pots from Claudian levels (see *Verulamium Report*, fig. 34, 58 and 59). From the sandy deposit.

6–12. Fragments of dishes and bowls in dark grey ware, some having smoothed patterns, of a type common in the late Antonine levels. Nos. 6, 7, and 12 were from Pit 3.

13. Small bowl in sandy grey ware. Two of this type were found. From the sandy deposit.

14. Bowl with reeded flange in hard pinky-orange ware. A late example of a type which dies out in the Antonine period. The ware of the present example differs from that of the series illustrated in fig. 12.

15. Bowl in very hard buff ware. The rim is made to take a lid. From the sandy layer.

16. Tazza or incense cup of light buff ware, frilled round the rim and lower angle of the body, which is sharply carinated. These ritual vessels are found both in burials (see *Colchester Catalogue*, grave groups 36, 73, and 92) and in temple deposits (see *Verulamium Report*, p. 119, where fragments of several incense cups are recorded from levels within the Triangular Temple). Other sharply carinated examples apparently belong to the early second century A.D. Cf. a vessel from Kanovium dated A.D. 100–103 (*Excavations on the site of the Roman Fort of Kanovium at Caerhun, Caernarvonshire* (1938), fig. 31, 248), another from Richborough of the late first or early second century (*First Richborough Report*, pl. XXIV, 44), and a third from Brecon of about A.D. 100 (*The Roman Fort near Brecon* (1926), fig. 100, C 36). A very weakly carinated form from Caerleon belongs to the Hadrian-Antonine period (*Archaeologia*, lxxviii, fig. 20, 42). The type with multiple frills continues into the fourth century, witness two vessels from Colchester found in grave groups with a Samian form Drag. 42 (A.D. 140 190) and an early third-century Rhine ware beaker respectively. For a note on the origins of the type see R. E. M. Wheeler, *The Roman Fort near Brecon*, pp. 225–7.

17. Mortarium rim with heavy upright bead and recurved flange. A late second-century type. From the sandy deposit.

18. Base of a beaker in hard dark grey ware with smooth surface.

19. Pinched-mouth jug in Castor ware. The clay is white and coated with a dark greeny-black slip.

Figure 18.

Group 6: Pottery contemporary with the erection of the third stone building, phase 5

The two sherds illustrated were found in the mortar and rubbish thrown back into the foundation trench of the two central masonry blocks after these had been built. This mortar filling also contained a few sherds of Castor ware in white clay coated with a highly metallic black slip and fragments of Rhenish ware.

1–2. Base and rim of Castor ware beaker in grey ware with pinkish-buff dull surface. Late third to early fourth century A.D.

Figure 19.

Mortarium rim stamped DVBETATVS (see p. 124, no. 7) which may be assigned to the second half of the second century A.D. (cf. Miller, *The Roman Fort at Balmuildy*, 1922, pl. XLII, 31). From a deposit containing third-century pottery, overlying the metalled surface between Building I, phase 4, and the chalk foundations east of the latter.

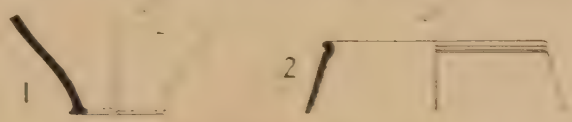


Fig. 18. Group 6: Pottery contemporary with the erection of Building I, phase 5 (¼)

Fig. 19. (½)

Figure 20.

Miscellaneous Pottery.

1. Castor ware beaker with a greeny-brown slip decorated with figures in barbotine, from a late second- to early third-century deposit.

Human figures as a decorative element on Castor ware are comparatively rare and appear to be restricted to the portrayal of mythological personages or the warriors, huntsmen, and gladiators of the 'hunt cup' series. The first category presents either scenes from the lives of the gods and heroes or a 'set' of gods. Thus a Castor ware sherd from Northants[1] shows Hercules rescuing Hesione and another from Welney, Norfolk,[2] depicts the same hero slaying the Lernean Hydra, whereas the Verulamium beaker illustrates a series of gods. The first on the left is dressed in a kilt and Phrygian cap such as might be worn by Mithras. The second is obviously Hercules, who appears carrying his bow in his left hand, with the lionskin draped over his arm and originally holding his club in his right hand.[3] The winged feet of the missing third figure are probably those of Mercury. One more pair of feet survive and the diameter of the pot allows for a fifth. Fragments of a beaker from Chesterford[4] (Essex) depicting Mars, Jupiter, and possibly Pallas Athene offer a clue to the identity of the two last figures. The winged feet of Mercury also appear on these sherds, with part of the god's caduceus. The treatment of these deities is quite conventional and that of the Hercules on the Verulamium beaker is paralleled on Samian bowls where he is seen in the same attitude bearing identical attributes.[5] Mercury also appears frequently on Samian pottery, but Mithras does not seem to be portrayed. If the Welney Hercules reflects that fluidity and vigour in execution characteristic of the hunt cup series, the pop-eyed, lumpy-faced Mithras on the Verulamium beaker is a good example of the Romano-British potter's inability to portray the human visage.

[1] C. Roach Smith, *Coll. Antiq.* (1857), iv, pl. XXIV.

[2] *Antiquity*, X (1936), 94, and pl. III.

[3] For an interesting article by Mr. Stuart Piggott on the cult of Hercules in Britain and his identification with the Cerne giant see *Antiquity*, XII (1938), pp. 323–31.

[4] C. Roach Smith, *ibid.*, pp. 91–2, figs. inset.

[5] Déchelette, *Les vases céramiques de la Gaule romaine*, no. 443; Oswald, *Figure Types*, no. 745.

2. Beaker of hard fine ware with orange slip decorated with yellow 'tears' in barbotine. The technique and the profile of this beaker may be compared to Ritterling's type 26 from Hofheim. From a layer immediately overlying the 'red daub and ash' containing material derived from it.

3. Small cup of buff clay with pale green glaze and decorated with scales 'en barbotine', see Hofheim (Ritterling, type 22 A d, pl. XXXII). Cf. also *Third Richborough Report,*

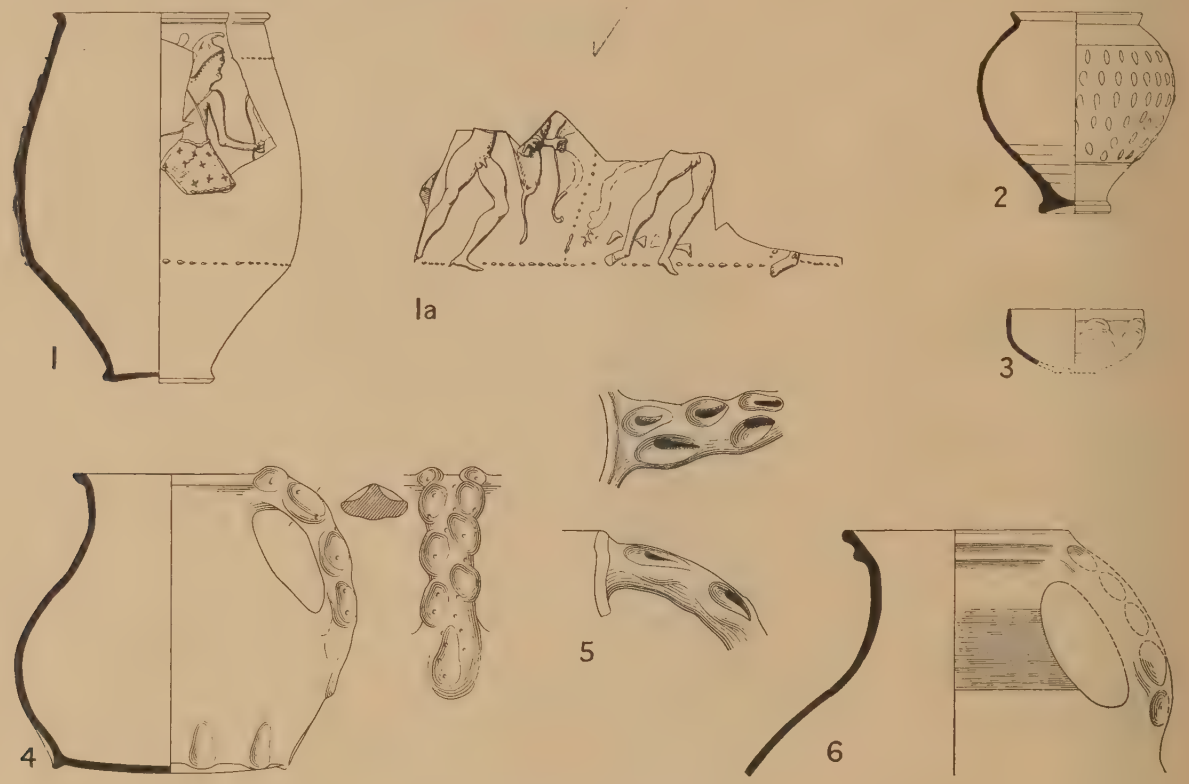


Fig. 20. Miscellaneous pottery ($\frac{1}{4}$)

type 229–31, from deposits dated to the Claudio-Neronian period, A.D. 50–80 and A.D. 55–75 respectively. From the wall trench to phase 3 verandah wall and associated with Claudian pottery.

4. Medieval jug from Hertford, see below, 5 and 6.

5–6. Part of two medieval jugs from the first 10 ft. of the well. Mr. G. C. Dunning, F.S.A., has kindly supplied the following notes on this ware, together with the drawing of the jug from Hertford:

'The fragments of jug from the well belong to a type that hitherto has not been accurately dated. The characteristic feature is the exaggerated thumb-pressing of the sides of the handle into a series of lobes. In a less pronounced form this decoration is known in the late Saxon period,[1] and it persisted throughout the medieval period. Indeed,

[1] *Antiq. Journ.*, iv, 371.

the primitive ornament on the handles of these jugs, the hard grey ware and absence of glaze, have caused too early a date to be proposed for them than can now be justified. The jug from Hertford (fig. 18, 4) has its base thumbed down at intervals and this feature, which is not known earlier than the thirteenth century and is particularly common then, presumably implies this date for all the jugs with handles of this type. This is confirmed by the associations of the jug found near Watford. The jugs have a limited distribution; most of the sites are in Hertfordshire, where the type appears to have originated, and thence to have spread into Bedfordshire and southwards to London.'

1. Hemel Hempstead. In the Evans Collection, Ashmolean Museum.

2. Hertford, from the site of the Green Dragon Inn (fig. 15, 4). In the Hertford Museum.

3. Verulamium (fig. 18, 5-6).

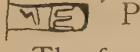
4. Watford, from the site of a medieval house near the north bank of the Colne, 1½ miles north-east of Watford. The associated pottery is late thirteenth century. Information from Dr. Norman Davey.

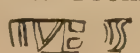
5. Bedford, from a ditch in Horn Lane.[1]

6. London. In the Guildhall and London Museums.[2]

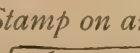
Potters' Stamps.

(a) *Stamps on Belgic plates.*

1.  Part of a stamp from the base of a plate in hard dark grey ware with dull surface. The foot-ring, rounded in section, is functional. Mr. M. R. Hull notes that the stamp does not occur at Colchester. It has the appearance of one of the meaningless stamps and is the first he has seen of the 'radially' placed stamps set at right angles to the radius. From the 'green gravel' layer, group I (*c.* A.D. 45–55).

2.  Part of a IVLIOS stamp from the base of a plate in pale grey ware with glossy surface. The foot-ring, square in section, is functional. In full the stamp should read IVLIOS AV. It has been found several times at Colchester, always on terra nigra and always radially. From the 'red daub and ash' layer (*c.* A.D. 55–61).

(b) *Stamp on amphora.*

3.  Stamped upwards on a rounded handle (see pl. 5). P . VOCCᵛC occurs on an amphora from Vichy and E VOCCIC on another from Lezoux (*C.I.L.*, xiii, 3, i, 203). From the 'red daub and ash' layer, *c.* A.D. 55–61.

(c) *Stamps on mortaria.*

4. F . LVGD = FACTVM LVGDVNI. On a rim too fragmentary for illustration. The stamp F . LVGVD is recorded at Wroxeter from a deposit dated A.D. 80–120 (*Third Wroxeter Report*, fig. 3, 50), and LVGD . F occurs on a mortarium from Richborough, undated (*Third Richborough Report*, p. 95, 10, a). From the 'red daub and ash' layer (*c.* A.D. 55–61).

[1] P. G. Langdon, *Illustrated Guide to the Bedford Modern School Museum* (1925), p. 65, pl. 17.

[2] R. E. M. Wheeler, *London and the Saxons* (London Museum Catalogue, no. 6), p. 159, fig. 33, 3.

5. FEC[IT] on a rim belonging to the first half of the second century A.D. (see fig. 15, 24). From the clay levelling outside Building I, phase 4.

6. [D]OIVN. On a rim from the same level as no. 5 (see fig. 15, 22). This stamp also occurs on a mortarium from the Theatre, from a deposit attributed to the early third century A.D., containing earlier material. In both cases the rim form can hardly be later than A.D. 160. It may be noted that DOINV is stamped on a rim from Wroxeter type 38, dated A.D. 80–120 (*Third Wroxeter Report*, fig. 3, 49).

7. DVBETA[T]VS retrograde. Stamped on a rim from a third-century level (see fig. 19). Mr. E. B. Birley notes that the only other example of this stamp is from Corbridge (unpublished) and that it may probably be dated *c.* A.D. 150-200. The manufacture is certainly British; at a guess, East Anglian.

Coins.

A. *Belgic coin.*

(*Report by* Derek F. Allen, *Esq., Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum*)

Coin of Tasciovanus. (Uninscribed.)

Obv. A ring ornament in the centre of a star formed by two interlacing squares, the whole within a kind of wreath. (No legend.)

Rev. Bull, right foreleg raised, standing on an exergual line, within a beaded circle.

Type of Verulamium in late period of Tasciovanus. Condition poor. 14–12 B.C.

See *Verulamium Report*, p. 266, no. 1, and J. Evans, *The Coins of the Ancient Britons*, pl. VII, 4, and p. 254.

B. *Roman coins.*

(*Report by* J. S. Kirkman, *Esq.*)

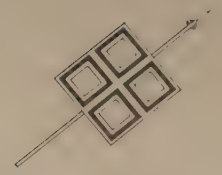
The coins listed below comprise all those found, whether stratified or unstratified. The reference-numbers are those of M. & S. (= Mattingly and Sydenham, *Roman Imperial Coinage*, vols. i, ii, iii, and v), C. (= Cohen, *Monnaies frappées sous l'empire romain*, 2nd ed.), and *B.M.C.* (= *British Museum Catalogue*).

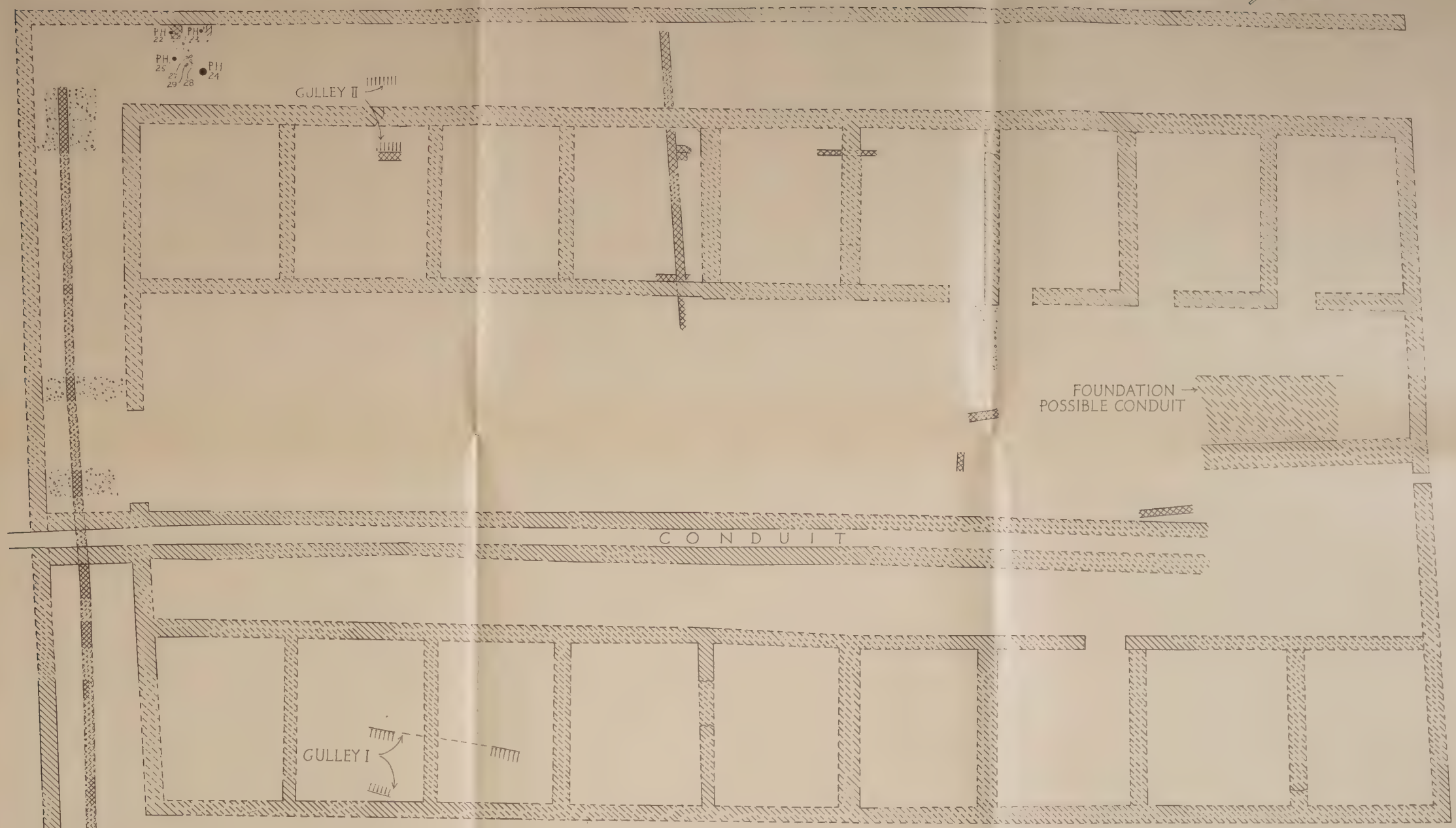
Emperor	*Date*	*References*	*Total*
Vespasian	A.D. 69–79	Sestertius, Pax type.	1
Domitian	81–86	Plated Denarius, Minerva stg. l. type, cf. *B.M.C.*, pl. 60, 6.	1
Trajan	98–117	Dupondius, reverse illegible.	1
Hadrian	117–138	Sestertius, M. & S. 752.	1
Antoninus Pius	138–161	As, M. & S. 934.	1
Valerian	253–259	M. & S. 123 [Rome].	1

Emperor	*Date*	*References*	*Total*
Gallienus (sole reign)	A.D. 260–268	M. & S. 163, 181, 249. (Z | ——), prob. 297 (Z | ——), 356 (H | ——), var. of rare coin SECVRIT PERPET with normal radiate head r. [Rome]. 459 (— | M P) obv. legend with GERM, 501 (S | ——), [Milan].	7
Salonina (sole reign)	260–268	M. & S. 57 [Milan].	1
Claudius II	268–270	M. & S. 32, 40. [Rome], altar type.	3
Victorinus	268–270	M. & S. 46, 78, Pax type (2). Irregular, Pax type.	5
Tetricus Senior	270–273	M. & S. 80/1, Laetitia type (2), Pax (4), Victoria (1), and apparent variant of Laetitia type with altar behind figure.	9
Victorinus or Tetricus Senior	268–270 270–273	Laetitia (1), Pax (2), Providentia (1), Victoria (1), Illegible (3).	8
Probus	276–282	M. & S. 49 [Lugdunum].	1
Carausius	287–293	M. & S. 98 (B | E / XI), [London]; 305 (S | C / C), [Camulodunum]. Irregular, Salus stg. r., holding sceptre and feeding snake rising from altar.	3
Allectus	293–296	M. & S. 55 (— | QL), and (1) [Londinium].	2
Maximian Herculeus	286–308	M. & S. 44 (— | C) [Lugdunum], (struck A.D. 291–294).	1
Illegible radiates			7
Barbarous radiates			4
Constantine I and Caesars	307–337	Soli Invicto Comiti, C. 36. Beata Tranquillitas, C. 20 (— | STR•), (— | •STR•); (Crispus), C. 22. Virtus Exercit, C. 690. Victoriae aetae Princ Perp, C. 663. Providentiae Caess (Constantine Caess), C. 165 (— | P⋆AR), Gloria Exercitus, 2 Standard, (Constantine Caes), C. 122 (— | TRS), and 1; (Constantine Caes), C. 104 (⋎ / TRP). Urbs Roma, C. 17 (A / TRP) (A / TRS) and 2. C. 12 (— | TRS). Constantinopolis, C. 12 (— | TRS⋆), (— | TRS), (A | TRP), (⋎ | PCONST), and 1. Gloria Exercitus, 1 Standard, C. 250 (— | TRP); (Constantius Caes) C. 92 (— | TRS). Constantinopolis, small, (— | PLG). Pax Publica, (Helena) C. 4 (3) and Securitas type.	27
Constantine II Constantius II Constans	337–340	Gloria Exercitus, 1 Standard, (Constans) C. 65, (— | TRP), (— | TR•S), and 2; barbarous miniature (— | PLG) and 1.	6

Emperor	*Date*	*References*	*Total*
Constantius II Constans	A.D. 340–361 (to 350)	Victoriae DD Augg Q NN, (Constantius II) C. 293 ($\frac{D}{TRP}$), ($\frac{\vert}{\cdot TRP}$), and 1; (Constans) C. 179 ($\frac{\Psi}{TRS}$), and 3. Fel Temp Reparatio—Horseman, small. (Constantius II) C. 48 ($\frac{\vert}{CPLG}$). Barbarous, the same type, all small (6).	19
Valentinian I Valens Gratian	364–375 364–378 (from 367–383)	Restitutor Reip, *siliqua* (Valentinian I) C. 18. Securitas Reipublicae, (Valentinian I) C. 37 ($\frac{\vert}{SARUP}$); (Valens) C. 47 ($\frac{\cdot\vert}{PCON}$), ($\frac{\vert}{PCON}$), ($\frac{OF\vert III}{CONST}$), and 2; (Gratian) C. 34; (uncertain) 3. Gloria Romanorum, (Valentinian I) C. 12, 3; (Valens) C. 11 ($\frac{\vert}{TRP}$), ($\frac{OF\vert II}{CON}$), ($\frac{\vert A}{SMAQ\Gamma.}$); (uncertain) 1. Gloria Novi Saeculi, (Gratian) C. 13 ($\frac{OF\vert I}{}$), ($\frac{\vert}{TCON}$). Victoria Augg, (Gratian) C. 37.	20
Magnus Maximus and son	383–388	Spes Romanorum, C. 6 Arelate; (Flavius Victor) C. 3 ($\frac{\vert}{PCON}$).	2
Illegible	Probably fourth cent.		9
Minimi; 2 barbarous, 1 illegible			3
		Total	143

VERULAMIUM INSULA XVII BUILDING 1





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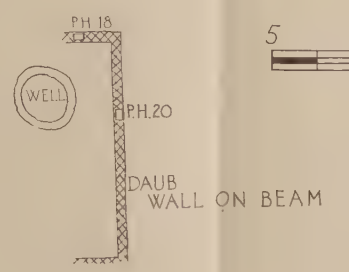

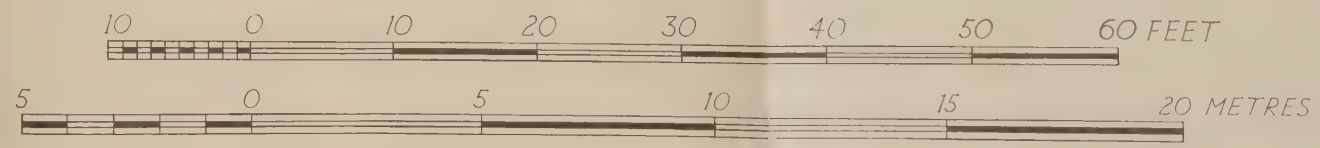

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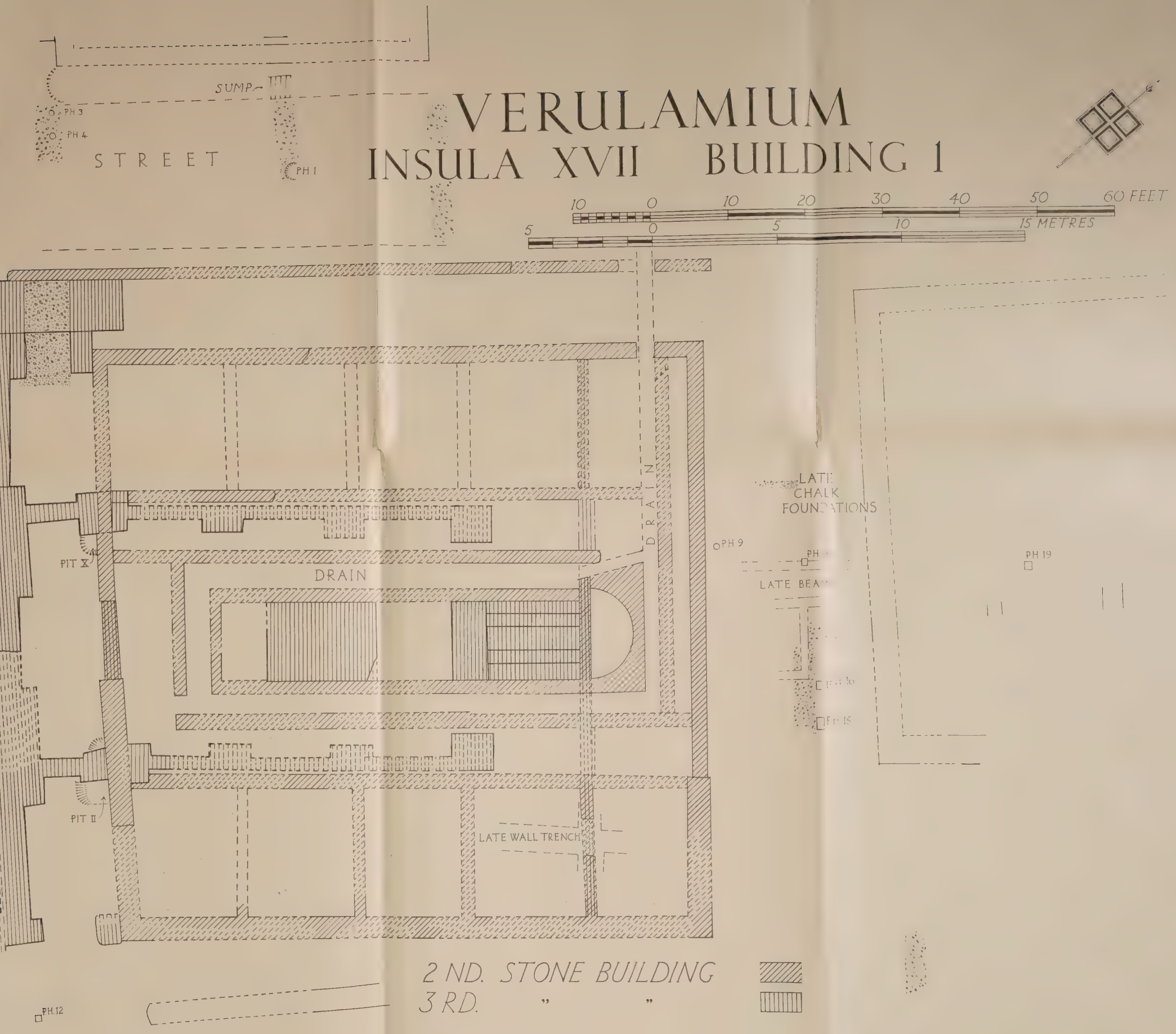

IV.—*Excavations on the Iron Age Hill-fort of Oldbury, near Ightham, Kent*

By J. B. Ward Perkins, F.S.A.

In 1938 the Kent Archaeological Society carried out extensive excavations on the site of the important Iron Age hill-fort of Oldbury, above Ightham, Kent. An abridged report of the work has already appeared in *Archaeologia Cantiana*, li (1939), 137–81. But in view of the more than local importance of some of the results obtained it has seemed advisable to republish them on a considerably expanded basis. The actual work of excavation, recorded in detail in *Archaeologia Cantiana*, is here more briefly summarized; whereas the bearing of the results obtained upon more general problems is considered at rather greater length.

Excavation on this scale is necessarily a work of collaboration. The names of many of those who helped, both during the excavation and in the preparation of the report, have already appeared in print or are referred to below in the appropriate context, and it is perhaps here permissible therefore to record in general terms only the indebtedness of the Excavation Committee and of the writer to their many helpers and collaborators. To this must be added a personal word of sincere thanks to Sir Edward Harrison, Hon. Secretary of the Kent Archaeological Society, without whose energy, tact, and enthusiasm the excavation could never have taken place; and to Miss B. de Cardi whose ungrudging assistance has alone made it possible to produce a report under rather difficult circumstances. The actual work of excavation was concluded during the September crisis of 1938, while the report itself was finished in October 1939 'somewhere in England'.[1] These facts will, it is hoped, excuse a certain number of inaccuracies and omissions.

For convenience of reference the report has been grouped under the following heads:

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The Site	128
The Structure	130
I. First period: the erection of the camp	130
II. Second period: the reconstruction of the North-East Gate	137
III. Traces of late settlement outside the ramparts by Patch Grove	141
The date and significance of the Earthworks	142
The Pre-Roman coinage of Kent, by Derek F. Allen	154
Material finds at Oldbury	159

[1] Since the outbreak of war the author has been on active service and has, in consequence, been unable to make reference to publications which have appeared since that date.

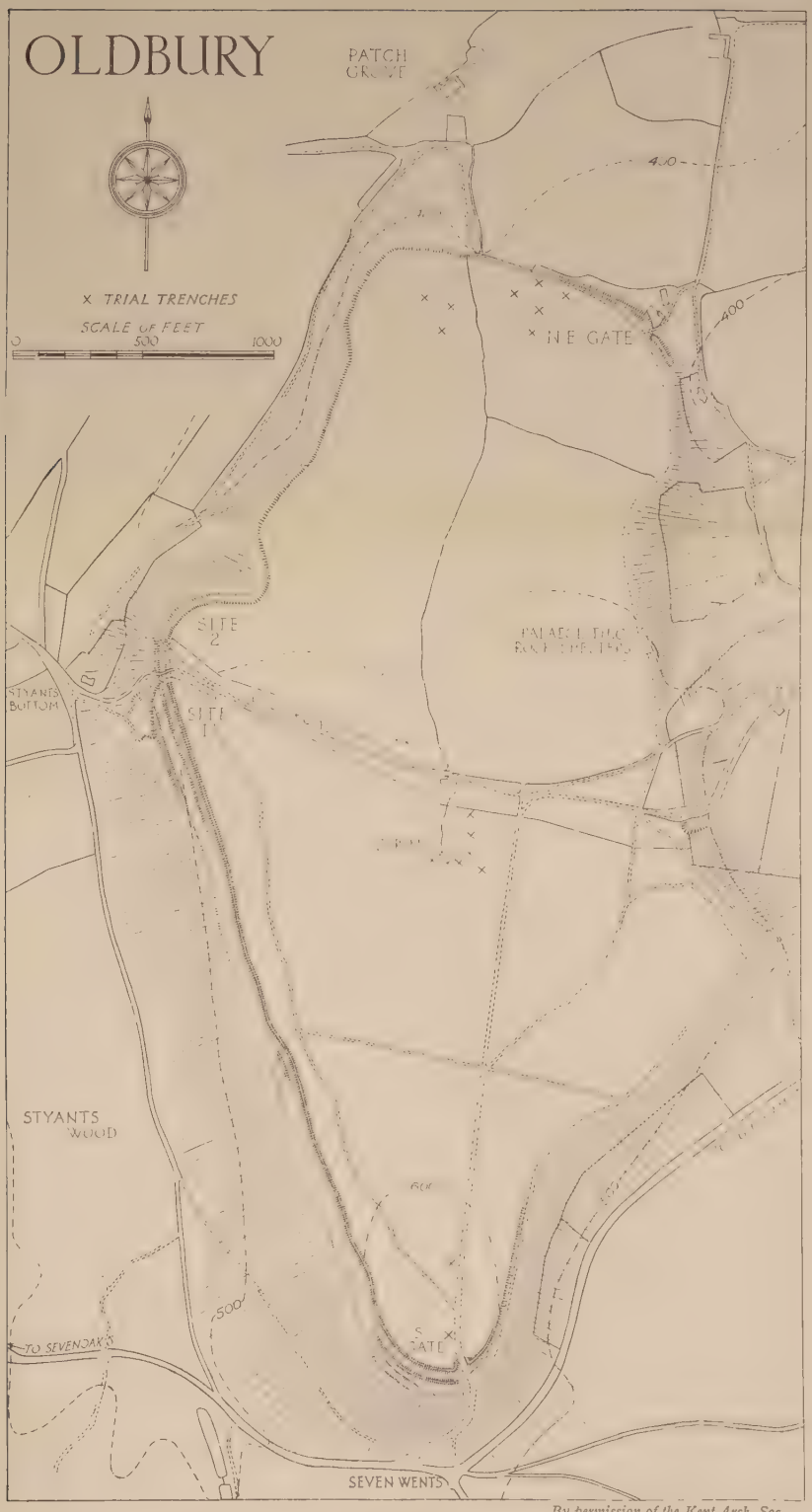
Other Early Iron Age structures and finds in South-eastern Britain . . 166
Lists of special pottery-types current in the Thames Estuary during the Early Iron Age 173

The Site

Oldbury Hill (pl. xxiii), which lies about half a mile to the west of Ightham village, has been from the earliest times a centre of human occupation. With the earlier prehistoric periods we are not here concerned. The evidence has been summarized by Sir Edward Harrison in *Archaeologia Cantiana*, xlv (1933), 142–61; and it indicates continuous settlement in the neighbourhood from the palaeolithic period onwards, although it is the middle palaeolithic rock-shelters alone which have as yet revealed any traces of actual habitation on the hill itself. Towards the close of the Early Iron Age, however, the hill was fortified by the erection of a bank and ditch round the summit. Chance finds and excavation have alike failed to prove the existence of any permanent settlement within the area defended. Such settlement there may have been; but it may be regarded as certain that the camp was primarily the fortified centre of a considerable scattered Iron Age population in the neighbourhood of Seal and Ightham. It was with the character of the defences themselves and with their date that the excavations were mainly concerned.

The hill is a site of considerable natural strength (pl. xxv). This is not immediately apparent; for to the south and south-west it is overlooked by the slightly higher ground of the main lower greensand ridge, of which it is an outlier. At the southern end a track led down from the South Gate across a low saddle to join the main ridge; but elsewhere the steep, and in places precipitous, slopes form a strong natural defence, of which the builders of the camp made full use. Only towards the north does the hill slope gently and uniformly from the highest point, by the South Gate, right down to the valley which lies at the foot of the scarp of the North Downs. Apart from its size (123 acres within the ramparts) the hill was well suited to the needs of prehistoric defence.

In its present form the earthwork, save for the passage of the medieval Sevenoaks–Ightham road above Styant's Bottom, is continuous from the South Gate, above Seven Wents, right round the western brow of the hill to the north end of the camp, where it swings eastwards and ends at the point where the stream leaves the camp. Immediately to the east of the stream there is a short gap caused by the deliberate levelling of the rampart in the nineteenth century, after which it runs for some 200 yards slightly south of east across comparatively level ground, and ends sharply on the brow of the steep scarp-slope of the eastern face of the hill, about 120 ft. to the east of the original North-East Gate. Most of the eastern face of the hill has been much damaged by quarrying, and the absence



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OLDBURY HILL

(Based on the Ordnance Survey by permission of the Director-General, Ordnance Survey)

LAND NOT NATURALLY SUITED TO PRIMITIVE OCCUPATION
DISTRIBUTION OF HILL-FORTS IN S. E. BRITAIN
SINGLE DEFENCES OVER 5 ACRES
MULTIPLE " " " "
SINGLE " UNDER " "
CHARACTER UNCERTAIN
10 0 10 20 40 MILES

Distribution of Early Iron Age Hill-forts in South-Eastern Britain
(Prepared from unpublished material with the help of, and by kind permission of, the Geological Survey)

Archaeologia, Volume 90, published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1944

Photograph by the late Major G. W. Allen

Aerial view of Oldbury from the south-west: in the background the southern scarp of the North Downs

Geological model of south-eastern England and part of France

of any certain trace of any artificial defences on this side cannot therefore be regarded as conclusive proof that the hill was never so defended. But at the eastern end of the northern sector the end of the rampart is clearly defined and bears no trace of subsequent disturbance. Here at any rate the builders of the camp seem to have considered the natural slope of the ground to be in itself a sufficient defence, and it is on the whole probable that the formidable cliffs of the eastern face of the hill never carried more than a wooden stockade. Only at one point is the line of cliff broken, by the coombe which rises obliquely below the rock-shelters. There is no trace of any earthwork where it enters the camp, but the possibility of an Iron Age entrance at this point cannot be ignored. The south-eastern part of the camp has been ruined by quarrying, but sufficient remains to show that the earthwork formerly ran for an indeterminate distance along the brow of the hill eastwards from the South Gate.

The camp therefore consisted originally of a bank and ditch which ran continuously round about two-thirds of the area: the remaining third was probably considered too strong to require elaborate artificial defences. Only to the north was it necessary to cover ground that was not naturally defensible, and the rampart was cleverly sited so as to reduce this length to a minimum. Only for a distance of about 400 yards, between the point where it swings eastwards above Patch Grove to its end just east of the North-East Gate, does it cross gently sloping ground; and it was here that the main strength of the defences was concentrated.

It would seem that the enormous area enclosed by the defences was dictated solely by the configuration of the ground. It was certainly not due to the requirements of an extensive permanent settlement, for of such settlement trenching on five selected sites within the camp revealed no trace. On the other hand, strong though it is, the builders would hardly have selected a site of such unwieldy dimensions had not other considerations guided their choice; nor are these hard to discover. Oldbury lies geologically just within the Weald, the great oval depression left by the erosion of the chalk which once formed a dome over a large part of Kent, Surrey, Sussex, and the coast of north-western France (pl. xxvi). The erosion of this area reached its maximum in the centre, and in consequence the exposed portions of the underlying deposits form a succession of roughly concentric oval bands. Along the northern edge of the Weald the lines of geological cleavage run roughly east and west parallel to the southern scarp-edge of the North Downs. Oldbury itself lies on the northern edge of the Folkestone beds, the highest member of the lower greensand. Between this and the Chalk to the north lies a narrow band of heavy Gault Clay, while to the south, between the Folkestone and the Hythe greensand beds and the Tunbridge Wells sand and other deposits that form the centre of the Weald lies another, wider band of clay with stony seams, the Wealden Beds.

Of these formations the greensand naturally carried a dry scrub which could easily be cleared; whereas the clay, at any rate in the moister prehistoric periods, was covered with damp forest-land wholly unsuited for human settlement. Not until the Roman period is there evidence of any extensive movement into the claylands of the Weald. In the Early Iron Age settlement was automatically canalized into the lighter areas, and these ran east and west. Only at a very few points was there a possibility of easy transit from north to south. One of these was by water up the Medway, a fact attested by the amount of early settlement round Maidstone. Another route lay across Oldbury Hill. To the north less than three-quarters of a mile of Gault separated Oldbury from the Pilgrims' Way at the foot of the chalk; while to the south, here, and here alone, the Weald Clay is capped by a series of lighter drift deposits, similar to those which cover the northern half of Oldbury Hill itself. These formed a natural corridor across the clay to the Medway-crossing at Tonbridge and, two miles beyond it, to the Iron Age camp on Castle Hill (pl. XXIV). The significance of this route is discussed later. It is here sufficient to notice its relation to Oldbury.

It can hardly be doubted that the camp, whose gates were sited to the north and to the south, was deliberately placed where it would command this route. To this may be added two other factors, the great natural strength of Oldbury Hill and its proximity to the Medway Gap, the natural gateway into Wealden Kent from the north. Excavation has shown that Oldbury was erected by a non-Belgic people, almost certainly against the pressure of a Belgic population already settled less than ten miles away round Maidstone. In the light of its geographical position and of the probable circumstances of its erection, the choice of the site of Oldbury needs no further explanation.

The Structure

The structural history of the ramparts by which the camp was defended is extremely simple. They were originally erected as a single whole some time in the early first century A.D. The greater part of the camp was never altered; but very late in the pre-Roman Iron Age, almost certainly as a result of the Roman invasion, the North Gate and its associated earthworks were remodelled. There were thus two structural periods, and these will be considered separately in the following sections.

I. *First period: the erection of the camp*

The main part of the surviving earthworks, from the South Gate and round the western side of the hill to the stream at the north end, undoubtedly forms a homogeneous unit. Apart from the cuttings made by the medieval road above

Styant's Bottom, the earthwork is continuous between these two points, and its relation to the ground and general form are throughout uniform. The small outer ditch found over the southern half of this length requires some consideration; but apart from this no feature was found, either before or during excavation, to suggest any complexity or development of structure. The results that were obtained from the intensive excavation of an area about the middle of this section above Styant's Bottom may, therefore, be applied with confidence to the rest of this rampart.

(a) *Site 1* (fig. 1)

Site 1 lies in the woods immediately to the south of the Old Road, where trial excavation had revealed the presence of occupation-material in the body of the rampart. The ditch has at this point been mutilated in medieval and modern times and it was not therefore completely excavated. Two sections cut through the rampart showed, however, the manner of its construction and provided a considerable body of pottery for the dating of the work (see below, pp. 159–60).

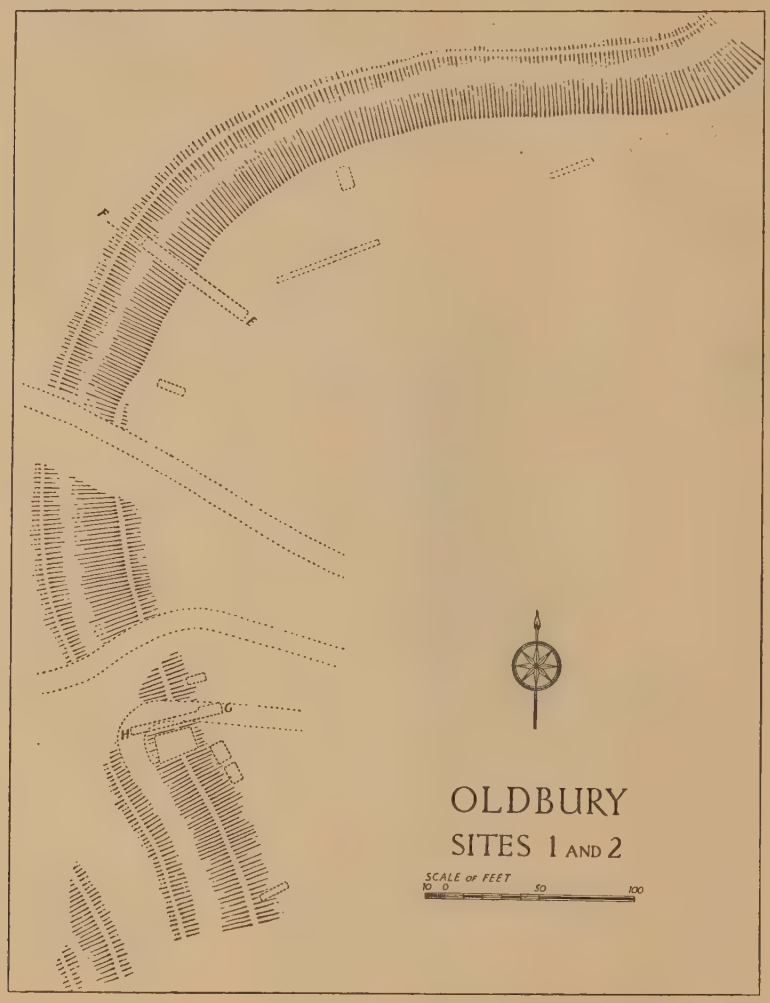
The structure was of the simplest (see pl. XXXI, section G–H). Heaps of earth taken from the ditch were piled one on top of another to form a bank, and to cap this further material was then added from behind the line of the rampart. A section 12 ft. wide proved conclusively the absence of any post-holes for a revetment. No signs of any palisade were found; but in view of the number of roots this evidence was hardly conclusive.

The occupation-material was all found in the dark streak visible in pl. XXVII, *a*, *b*, and pl. XXXI, section G–H. This cannot be taken to indicate an accumulation of debris in the interval between two periods of construction. Such an accumulation would be most unlikely near the crest of the rampart; and the character of the dump, in which the dark matter shades imperceptibly off into clean tips of similar texture, and the unevenness of its deposit, show clearly that it represents redeposited rubbish from an earlier occupation-site. The brown layer by which it is capped represents the cleaner subsoil from the same scoop.

The character of the pottery from this occupation-debris is fully discussed below (p. 143 f.). Although it clearly provides only a *terminus post quem* for the construction of the rampart, several considerations suggest that it is in fact roughly contemporary with it. Not only is it of very similar character to the pottery found in the body of the rampart on sites 2 and 3 and in the rapid silt of the ditch on site 2, but it is itself of so late a date within the Iron Age that the rampart can hardly be dated much later without unduly telescoping the subsequent history of the site. Other considerations, discussed below, do in fact

suggest that it may well represent the occupation-rubbish of one of the gangs employed in the construction of the rampart.

A number of trenches were cut in and behind the tail of the rampart at site 1 and to the south of it. These revealed in a few cases sporadic traces of occupa-



By permission of the Kent Arch. Soc.

Fig. 1. Sites 1 and 2. The rampart above Styant's Bottom

tion, including the complete vessel illustrated (fig. 12, no. 1), but no signs of any structure or of any permanent settlement.

(b) *Site 2* (fig. 1)

Immediately to the north of site 1, on the other side of the Old Road, the rampart makes a sharp inward kink following the contour of the hill.

The area within the bend would have been sheltered from the north and west by the rampart, and from the east by the main bulk of the hill, and it was therefore well suited for prehistoric occupation. Extensive trenching, however, failed to reveal any signs of settlement, in contrast to three cuttings on the line of the rampart, all of which produced scattered sherds of pottery.

Superficially there is no sign of any bank at this point. A section through rampart and ditch (pl. XXXI, section E–F, and pl. XXX, *a*) revealed that, though in fact deliberately destroyed, the former is still in fact standing some 4 ft. high. The present level surface has been produced by the accumulation of earth ploughed from the higher ground in the centre of the camp. As on site 1 the rampart itself consists simply of featureless dumps of earth. The quantities of burnt ash-like material found wherever the rampart was trenched on this site represent perhaps the burning of wood and bracken when the site was first cleared; they contained only scattered sherds of pottery. The ditch is of steeply cut, V-shaped section with a small counterscarp bank. Despite the simplicity of construction the steep slope of the bank and ditch crowning a considerable natural hill must have formed a formidable defence. As in all primitive bank-and-ditch construction the important feature is the ditch.

Sherds of four pots were found in the rapid silt of the ditch and of half-a-dozen others in the body of the bank. In character they approximate to those from the body of the rampart on site 1.

(c) *Site 3* (fig. 2)

The site of the South Gate was destroyed some fifteen years ago when the track leading from Seven Wents to the top of the hill was widened and deepened. The existence of an original gate at this point is, however, attested by the inturn of the rampart on the west side. That on the east side also seems to have inturned, but it has been badly mutilated. A section (pl. XXXI, section J–K) through the inturned bank on the west side revealed the same dump-construction as in the main rampart on sites 1 and 2. The uppermost tip consisted of heavy stone blocks, but these were treated by the builders merely as so much dump-material, and there was no attempt to build a wall-face. A trench at the junction of the main rampart and of the inturned bank confirmed that the two were thrown up simultaneously and that the inturned entrance belongs therefore to the primary lay-out of the camp.

The outer ditch was also sectioned near the southern entrance (pl. XXXI, section C–D) and proved to be of shallow, but sharply cut, V-shaped section. It runs from a point immediately to the west of the South Gate as far as the slope above Styant's Bottom where it is lost in a quarry beside the Old Road; 80 yards

to the north of this point it is no longer found. It conforms throughout its length to the line of the inner rampart and there is no reason to believe that it is not in fact contemporary. Several other camps in the neighbourhood exhibit the same doubling of the rampart at weak points, notably that in Squerryes Park, Westerham (plan in *Arch. Cant.* xvi, 136; see below, p. 168), which has several features in common with Oldbury. In general it is evident that the original

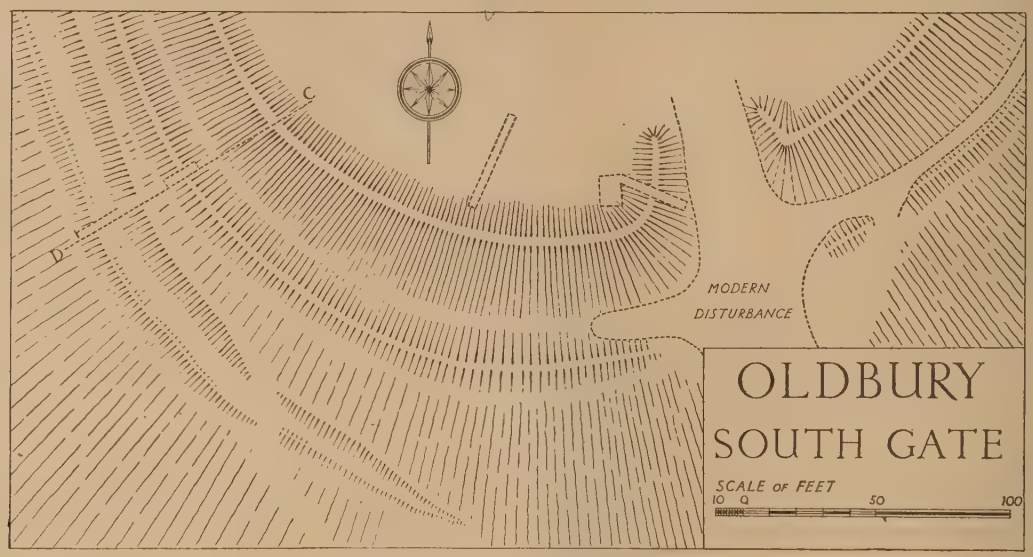


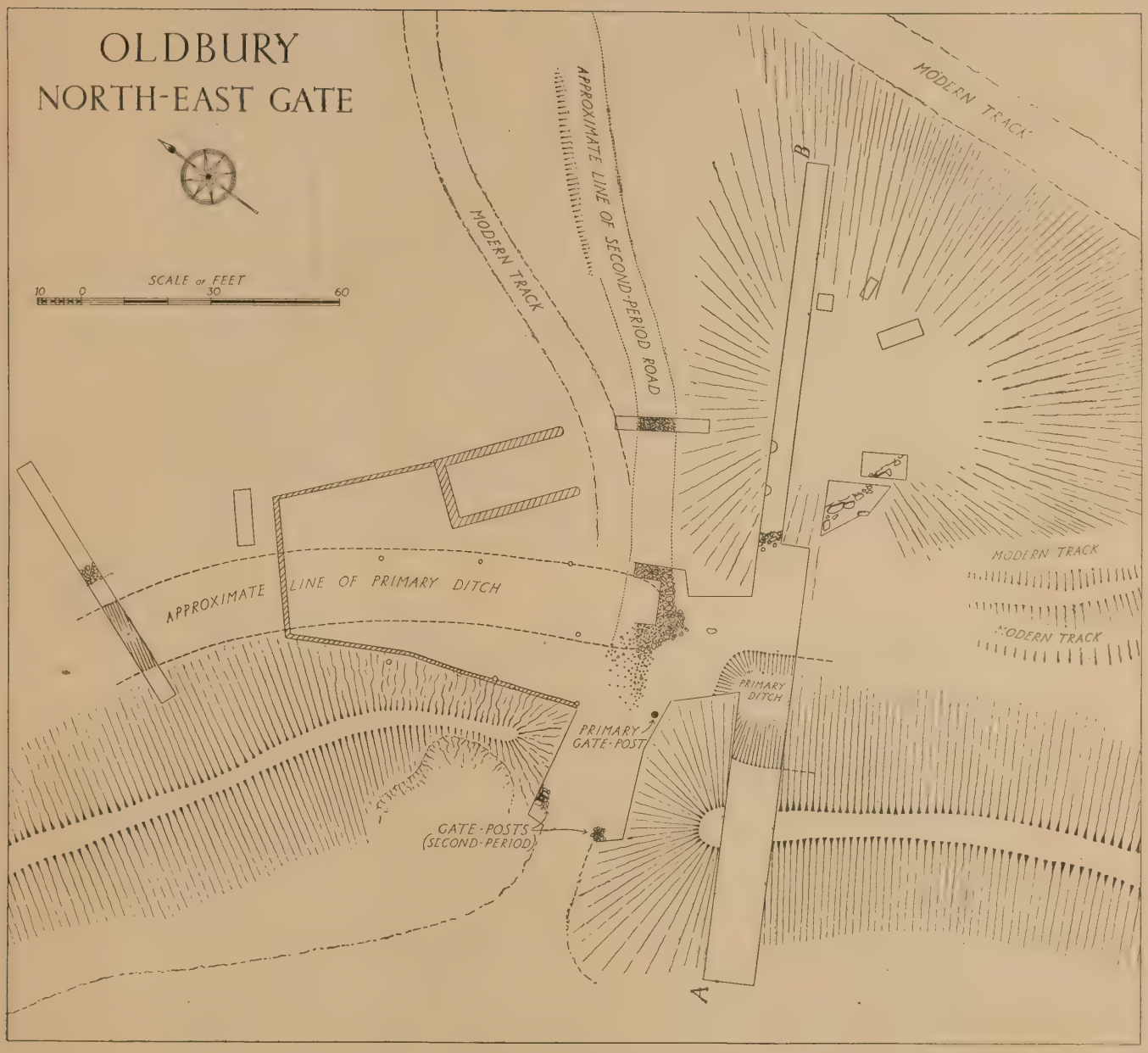
Fig. 2. Site 3. The South Gate (p. 133)

builders of Oldbury were working upon a basis of common-sense and upon a general knowledge of bank-and-ditch hill-forts elsewhere rather than upon any preconceived theory of rampart-construction. This is apparent both in the rudimentary form of the rampart itself and in the haphazard manner in which the counterscarp bank appears and disappears as the slope occasions. The doubling of the bank at Oldbury only along the highest part of the hill is at first sight curious; but it must be remembered that it was on this side only that that camp faced open, habitable country, from which it was liable to attack.

Lying upon the first tip of the inturned bank, and sealed by the later tips, was a cooking-hearth. Scattered sherds were also found here and in the main bank; but once more there were no signs of occupation behind the rampart nor along the presumed line of the road leading from the entrance into the interior of the camp.

(d) *Site 4* (fig. 3)

In its present form the rampart that crosses the neck of comparatively level ground at the northern end of the camp belongs to a later period than the rest of the earthwork. It superseded, however, an earlier and simpler structure, of



By permission of the Kent Arch. Soc.

Fig. 3. Plan of the North-East Gate
(Diagonal shading indicates modern farm-building)

which the remains underlie the present rampart. This consisted once more of a simple bank and ditch, but owing in part perhaps to the gentle slope of the ground, which called for a specially strong artificial defence, in part to the material here to hand—solid layers of rock mixed with fluid sand—the rampart was of a somewhat more elaborate construction. The top sand from the ditch was first dumped on the nose of the bank, and on it and behind it was laid a massive core of stones. This core sloped backwards to a kerb of heavy blocks which were bedded into the original surface-soil, and in front it was brought to a roughly built face. Up against this face was heaped sand, and the whole must originally have been to some extent roughly revetted with stone.

The original gateway lay slightly to the east of the second-period gate. The solid causeway across the early ditch had been largely destroyed by the construction of the wide secondary ditch, but the stump of it was clearly visible underlying the later bank (pls. XXVIII–XXIX). This causeway evidently ran obliquely to the line of the defences, for there is a considerable overlap between the ends of the primary ditch on either side. Whether the original gateway was itself also set obliquely is not certain. The base of one post-hole was found underlying the later bank (see plan, fig. 3), but it was not clear at which side of the early gate it lay.

No sign of the other post was found to the north-west on the line of the existing roadway; but continual use has here worn the road-surface at least 2 ft. below the original ground-level. Alternatively it may have lain to the south-east beneath the existing bank. Time did not permit the excavation necessary to determine this point, nor was it possible to discover whether the original bank inturned here, as at the South Gate.

The original rampart did not apparently run the full length of the northern sector. In a cutting some 100 ft. to the west of the North Gate the primary ditch was found carefully filled by the builders of the secondary earthwork. 100 ft. farther again to the west, however, no trace of it was found; and unless the original rampart made some extraordinary deviation between these two points, it follows that it covered only a distance of some 150 ft. on either side of the entrance. The explanation of this is presumably to be sought in the geological situation of the camp. At this point it faced directly upon the Gault Clay, which must have been virtually impassable save where deliberately cleared and metalled. It was evidently necessary to fortify only a limited stretch of ground on either side of the track. No doubt also the valley of the stream which separates the two sectors of the earthwork itself constituted a formidable marshy barrier.

A certain amount of pottery was found in the silting of the primary ditch and in general this corroborates the evidence obtained from sites 1–3. No

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a. The Rampart, Site 1: first period

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b. The Rampart, Site 1, showing seam of dark earth which contained occupation-material: first period

a. Part of the North-West Gate and the adjacent rampart, showing the lip of the earlier ditch, which has been deliberately filled by the builders of the later defences. The figure on the right marks a gate-post of the later gate

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b. General view of the North-East Gate. The survey-poles mark, from left to right, (i) the nose of the early bank, (ii) the end of the early ditch, (iii) a post-hole of the early gate

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a. Socket of gate-post of the North-East Gate: second period

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b. The North-East Gate from the crest of the inner rampart, showing the remains of the deep, early ditch underlying the broad, shallow, later ditch. The farther figure stands at the outer end of the outwork, the nearer figure on the causeway of the later entrance

a. The ditch, site 2: first period

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b. The rebuilt rampart by the North-East Gate, showing the revetment near the crest. The lower survey-pole marks the nose of the earlier bank. In the background a post-hole of the later gate

occupation was found behind the rampart nor on the slopes facing the stream near the point where it leaves the camp.

II. *Second period: reconstruction of the North-East Gate*

The greater part of the earthwork seems to have remained in the condition in which it was first constructed until the time of its final abandonment. The northern sector was, however, at a later date drastically remodelled. It is a natural inference that the reconstruction was undertaken in the face of some danger expected from the north; and the material finds associated with the rebuilding of the rampart make it almost certain that the occasion was in fact the invasion of Britain by Claudius' armies in A.D. 43. It was by way of the North Downs that the Romans marched on the Belgic kingdoms north of the Thames. The tribes of Wealden Kent, which lay well off the main line of advance, would have had ample time for preparation. The fact that in this case only the north-east gate was refortified corroborates the suggestion made above (p. 136) that the uncleared Gault Clay on either side of the road constituted a barrier sufficient to prevent any danger of flanking attacks from other directions.

The fortification consisted of the reconstruction of the existing bank and ditch and the addition of an outwork in front of the entrance. At the same time the gateway was rebuilt upon a slightly different alinement (fig. 3).

The most striking feature of the refortification is the ditch (pl. XXIX, *b*). This is a wide, shallow, flat-bottomed depression, revetted to form a steep slope on the outer edge, but otherwise of little obvious defensive value. The original V-shaped ditch was deliberately filled. In section A–B (pl. XXXI) the filling was necessitated by the alteration of the adjacent entrance-plan and the consequent re-alinement of the rampart; but a section cut to the west of the entrance, where there was no such re-alinement, showed the filling to be a constant feature. The flat-bottomed ditch is evidently part of a defensive system, deliberately planned and executed.

At the same time as the ditch was remodelled the early bank was strengthened. The main features of this work are clearly seen in section A–B, although it must be remembered that it was probably here only that the builders found it necessary to extend their bank forward over the line of the early ditch. Elsewhere they probably followed the obvious course of dumping the additional material on top of, and behind, the early bank. A modern quarry immediately to the west of the gate does in fact reveal such a dump of earth overlying the tail of the stone core of the earlier bank.

Three features of structural significance are revealed in the section—a large post-hole slightly in the rear of the crest, a sloping revetting-wall some 8–10 ft.

in front of the post-hole, and a mass of tumbled stone spread down the forward face of the bank. The post-hole and the revetting-wall are, from their relation to the uniform tip of sandy earth which they supported, undoubtedly contemporary, and together they formed an additional defensive feature on the crest of the main bank (pl. xxx, *b*). The precise character of the mass of stone which was found lying down the whole length of the bank and the absence of any noticeably heavier accumulation at the foot at first suggest that it constituted a deliberate revetment. Against this, however, is the absence of any signs of coursing in what has superficially every appearance of naturally tumbled masonry. Such a revetment must, moreover, inevitably have been covered with earth if it was to stay in position and was not to provide ammunition and an easy means of scaling the bank to any enemy; and of such a covering there is no trace beneath the obviously silted accumulation of small stones at the foot of the bank. It is probable, therefore, that in part at least this mass of stones represents masonry fallen from the revetment at the crest of the bank. It cannot, however, by any means all be so explained. The slope of the upper revetment and the character of its masonry, which diminishes in size from the bottom upwards, alike show that it can originally hardly have stood more than about 3–4 ft., if indeed as much, above the present crest, and this would be insufficient to account for the volume of fallen material. Moreover, while many of the stones were found to lie in loose dark surface-earth, a certain number were undoubtedly bedded in the solid brown body of the rampart, in places, e.g. just in front of the foot of the revetment, in sufficient numbers and sufficiently carefully laid to suggest deliberate revetment. It seems clear that the builders of the bank did in places finish it off with a capping of stones, and this capping would no doubt have held up much of the upper revetment when it came to collapse. How many of the stones are in place, how many are fallen from above, it is, in view of the action of roots, probably useless to inquire.

In front of the ditch lay an elaborate outwork. In the form in which it is seen in section A–B (pl. xxxi) it perhaps covered only the area immediately outside the entrance, but the ground is too disturbed for certainty on this point. A 6-ft. section showed it to be a low mound of earth, now nowhere more than 4 ft. high, bounded at either edge by a stone revetting-wall. Several post-holes or gullies indicated the former existence of superficial timber defences, but these could not be further explored in the time available. Through the middle of the out-work passed the road, which ran straight up to the gateway. Where it crossed the filled-in end of the earlier ditch it was carried on an elaborately buttressed causeway of heavy stone blocks metalled with lighter stone. In the gateway itself the sockets of the two gate-posts are preserved on either side, slightly in the rear of the crest of the rampart. That on the north-western side

(pl. XXIX, *a*) is the more massive and contained a large, well-squared timber. There was no trace of any central socket.

The reconstruction of the north-eastern defences could be well dated in terms of the large body of pottery found stratified in the body of the rampart and of the outwork. In sharp contrast to the material from the earlier defences it contained a considerable proportion of Belgic fabrics. There were also a few fragments of imported pottery, including two sherds of Roman mortaria. The extent to which continental fabrics were reaching this country before the Claudian conquest varies from place to place; but it is in the highest degree improbable that they reached Wealden Kent much, if at all, before A.D. 43. On the other hand, it is also most unlikely that a fortification of this sort could have been erected after Roman rule was established; and this conclusion is corroborated by the discovery of two cremation-burials in pedestal-urns of a purely native character (fig. 15) which were inserted into the outer defences near the North-east Gate *after* their erection. There is, in fact, good evidence to show that the refortification of Oldbury was contemporary with, and presumably the result of, the Claudian invasion.

Soon afterwards the inhabitants of the Weald passed under Roman domination; but at Oldbury at any rate it seems that they did not do so without a struggle. Over forty sling-stones were found on the forward slope of the main rampart in the 12-ft. section cleared; and not only was the road-metalling in front of the gate reddened by fire, but the great gate-post had itself been burnt. It looks very much as if the camp was stormed by the armies against which its defences had been strengthened.

Structurally the later defences of Oldbury are of great interest. The outwork is too battered to be of much value; but the flat-bottomed ditch and the main rampart are both well preserved and distinctive. They are of a form which has not previously been recorded from this country but is well represented in France, chiefly in the department of Seine Inférieure. The type was recognized by Dr. R. E. M. Wheeler during the course of the Society of Antiquaries' expedition to Normandy in 1939, and I am much indebted to him for allowing me to use material which is, at the time of writing, unpublished.[1]

The camps in question cluster near the mouth of the Seine, almost entirely to the north of the river, and up the coast, at any rate as far as Dieppe (fig. 4; see list at the end of this section). It is possible that they extend also farther to the north, as the departments to the north-east of Seine Inférieure have not yet been adequately surveyed. They form a uniform and easily recognizable series of promontory camps with flat-bottomed ditches and strongly inturned entrances. The main defences are in most cases of great size and strength. At

[1] *Antiq. Journ.*, XXI (1941), 265–70.

Duclair there is a small outer earthwork, of feeble dimensions and of dubious date, but elsewhere the defences are single. Both there and at Fécamp the

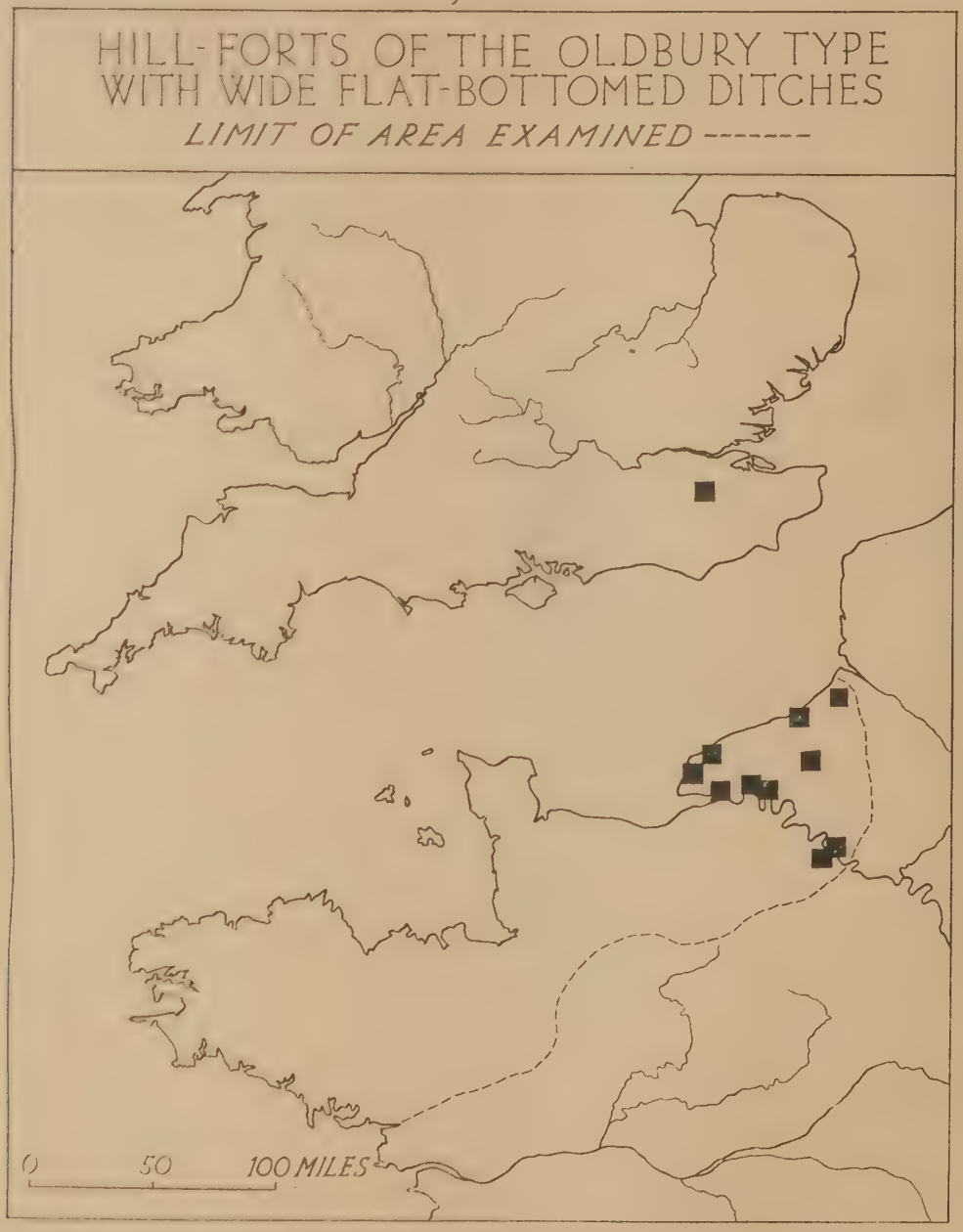

Fig. 4. Distribution-map of camps with flat-bottomed ditches in England and France

ditches were tested by excavation; and on the former site the rampart was surmounted by a revetted platform akin to that found at Oldbury (pl. XXXII).

Both sites belong to the late pre-Caesarian period, and a similar date can confidently be claimed for the rest of the series.

There is little historical probability that any of these camps were built after the conquest of Gaul by Julius Caesar. Oldbury, on the other hand, was built in, or very soon after, A.D. 43, no less than a hundred years after its latest continental precursors. The disparity is, however, more apparent than real. The Camp du Canada at Fécamp was occupied continuously down to the second quarter of the first century A.D.; and the Cité de Limes at Dieppe had an even longer history. In the middle of the first century A.D. many of these camps were probably still inhabited, and the Belgic conquerors of Oldbury merely copied a fashion which was still current among their cousins in Gaul. The copy was close. The North-east Gate of Oldbury has not the inturned banks which are so consistent a feature of the French series, but the flat ditch and the superficial fighting-platform are hardly modified at all. They leave no room for doubt as to the ultimate ancestry of the later defences of Oldbury.

Hill-forts of the Fécamp series (fig. 4)

(i) *Eure*

Saint-Pierre-d'Autils (Canton of Vernon), Le Goulet or Le Trou aux Anglais.
Vernon (Canton of Vernon), Camp de César or Camp Romain, in the parish of Vernonnet.

(ii) *Seine Inférieure*

Bracquemont (Canton of Dieppe), Cité de Limes.
Caudebec (Canton of Caudebec), Camp de Calédu on the hill to the east of the town.
Duclair (Canton of Duclair), Le Chatellier or Les Portes de la Ville, in the parish of Saint-Pierre-de-Varengeville.
Fécamp (Canton of Fécamp), Camp du Canada or Camp de César.
Heugleville-sur-Scie (Canton of Longueville), Camp to the north-east of the village.
Incheville (Canton of Eu), Camp de Mortagne.
Sandouville (Canton of Saint-Romain), Camp de César.
Veulettes (Canton of Cany), Le Catellier or Le Tombeau de Gargantua.

III. *Traces of late settlement outside the ramparts by Patch Grove*

Within the area of the ramparts no traces of permanent occupation were found despite extensive trenching on no less than five selected sites (see pl. XXIII)—in the shelter of the ramparts above Styant's Bottom, within each of the two gates, on either side of the spring in the centre of the camp, and on the slopes facing the stream near the northern rampart. Over an area of 123 acres such trenching does not, of course, disprove the existence of prehistoric settlement, but it certainly limits its possible extent; and it may, in fact, well be that Oldbury was never permanently occupied.

Extensive traces of occupation were, on the other hand, found less than 200 yards outside the ramparts to the north-west, in the marshy valley below Patch

Grove (see pl. XXIII). In 1906 the present owner, Mr. H. A. Hooker, excavated a swimming-pool at this point and on that occasion the late Benjamin Harrison observed and recorded the occurrence of large quantities of pottery (manuscript notes in the possession of Sir Edward Harrison and *Arch. Cant.*, xlv, 153–4). Trial trenches confirmed this record and a great deal of late pre-Roman and Roman pottery was found, water-laid in the redeposited clay which here overlies the valley-bottom, without doubt the rubbish from a considerable settlement. The site of this settlement was found immediately to the south-east, on the gravel at the foot of the north-westerly slopes of Oldbury Hill, but time and weather did not permit its further examination.[1] A short distance up-stream the earlier deposits were sealed by a rough metalling associated with second-century Roman pottery, probably a farm-track similar to that which now runs down the valley. Fragments of Roman brick indicate the former existence of some substantial building, but of this no further trace was found. For the extensive Roman remains in this neighbourhood see *Arch. Cant.*, l (1938), 156.

The earliest pottery found on the Patch Grove site was undoubtedly pre-Roman in character (see below, p. 162), but in point of time it might equally well belong to the years immediately following the conquest. The Patch Grove settlement is not therefore necessarily contemporary with the fortifications of Oldbury; its establishment may have coincided with the dislocation attendant upon the establishment of Roman rule. On the other hand, in the absence of any considerable permanent Iron Age occupation of Oldbury, such dislocation may well have been very limited. The lack of close stratification in water-laid deposits of rubbish, the upper levels of which contained also Roman pottery, left this point undecided, and we cannot therefore be certain whether the Patch Grove settlement belonged originally to one of the scattered communities which were responsible for the building and maintenance of Oldbury, or whether it was first founded after the Roman conquest.

The Date and Significance of the Earthworks

The date assignable to the construction of the original defences depends upon two factors, the stratigraphical relation of these works to the later refortification and the character of the associated pottery. In section A–B (pl. XXXI) it will be seen that a comparatively small quantity of silt had accumulated at the bottom of the primary ditch before it was superseded by the reconstructed earthwork. This is a criterion to be used with caution; but the fluid character of the sand, of which the rampart was largely composed, was in fact amply demon-

[1] A plan of the work done has been deposited for reference and record at Maidstone Museum. The only structural features calling for comment were the traces of two sleeper-beams and a cobbled floor.

strated during the course of the excavation. Silting is, moreover, notoriously far more rapid in the early years after the construction of any earthwork; and it is therefore reasonable to conclude that the primary ditch stood open only for a very limited period of time, a period to be measured perhaps even in years rather than decades.

The pottery presents a more complex problem. Its most noticeable characteristic is the disparity between the groups associated with each of the two structural periods. The later phase is predominantly Belgic in character. It contains inevitably some sherds reminiscent of the earlier period, but the percentage is surprisingly small. Of the remainder, those sufficiently determinate for identification are almost exclusively Belgic (see below, pp. 160–2, figs. 13–15) and they belong, moreover, to the latter part of the pre-Roman Belgic period. With the exception, however, of the two sherds of Roman mortaria (see p. 139) they contain no Roman material; and, quite apart from the improbability that fortifications such as these would have been erected after A.D. 43–4, it is most unlikely that pedestal-urns such as fig. 15, nos. 1 and 2, which were shown to post-date the reconstruction of the fortifications, were in use for any considerable period after the Roman conquest.

The strongly Belgic character of the pottery associated with the later defences serves only to emphasize the absence of a single sherd of recognizably Belgic fabric from the earlier material. A comparison of the two groups points unmistakably to the conclusion that while the original rampart was the work of a non-Belgic people, by the time it was rebuilt in A.D. 43 the original builders had passed under Belgic domination. It suggests also that Belgic pressure in some form may have been the occasion which in the first place prompted the erection of Oldbury.

The positive character of this earlier, non-Belgic culture is, however, less easily determined. The pottery associated with the primary rampart is remarkably uniform (fig. 12). It includes a certain number of coarser vessels in rough corky ware of the Iron Age A tradition; but the majority of the finer and more distinctive pots are of a highly burnished, brown or black fabric, in several cases wheel-turned. The introduction of the potter's wheel into this country is generally associated with the Belgae, and it is in any case unlikely that it anywhere preceded the Belgic invasion. There is, however, no reason why an invention already widespread on the continent should not have found its way into this country by a variety of routes, in particular by way of Sussex, the non-Belgic continental affinities of whose late pre-Roman cultures are becoming increasingly apparent. The fact, therefore, that the potter's wheel was already in use when the fortification of Oldbury was first undertaken, while it is probably a sound criterion of late date, is not necessarily an indication of Belgic influence. It should rather

be attributed to the same sources as the other elements visible in this earliest Oldbury group.

Most of the recognizable vessels belong to a form already recognized in Kent at Crayford (*Proc. Prehist. Soc.*, iv (1938), 163, fig. 9, nos. 1–4). They were there described as 'squat pedestal-vessels', but they would possibly better be termed 'foot-ring bowls'. The base is not in every case a true foot-ring, but the

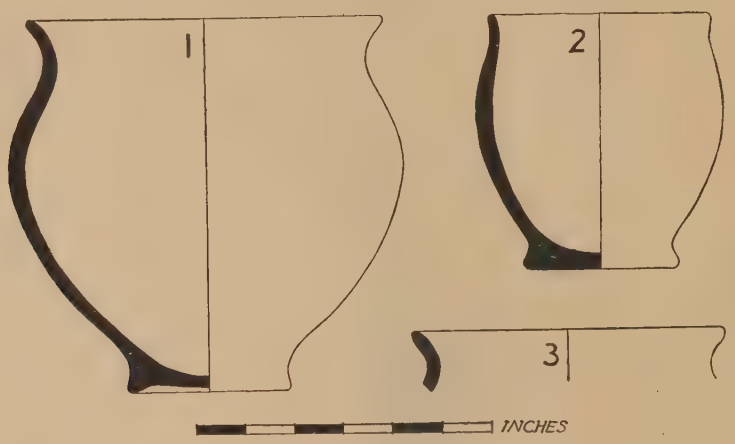

Fig. 5. Foot-ring bowls
No. 1. From Caburn. No. 2. From Hascombe. No. 3. From Saxonbury

term avoids confusion with the more familiar Belgic pedestal-vessels. The rim section of these foot-ring bowls is S-curved but otherwise featureless, while the base ranges from a small, but well-defined pedestal to a mere beading. The form is not striking but it is consistent; and taken in conjunction with the ware it is sufficiently distinctive to serve as a cultural type-fossil.

Vessels of this form and ware have been found on a variety of sites in, and on the edge of, the Weald.[1] Of the northern and central Wealden sites, Holmbury and Saxonbury are represented only by fragmentary examples (fig. 5, no. 3), but the ware of these is so strikingly similar to that of the first period at Oldbury that the identification is reasonably certain. The Hascombe pot (fig. 5, no. 2) is a crude, lumpy derivative, which may be compared with one found in the rapid silt of the primary ditch at Oldbury (fig. 13, no. 1). At Bigberry portions of several such pots were found. These belong to a pre-Belgic cultural sub-

[1] Mr. A. W. G. Lowther informs me that he has recently found vessels of this type on yet another Surrey site, at 'Purberry Shot', Ewell. Other pottery from this site includes 'Patch Grove' ware (see p. 175) and bead-rim bowls of Charlton type (see p. 176). A second site, at Walton-on-the-Hill, has yielded Caburn II ware and other pre-Roman wares on the site of a Roman villa; no certain foot-ring bowl has yet turned up, but a remarkable painted vessel, closely analogous to those found at Horsted Keynes (*Sussex Arch. Colls.*, lxxviii (1937), 257, fig. 1), puts the Sussex connexions of this site beyond any possible doubt.

stratum that is strongly represented on this site. Its precise significance is far from clear; but taken in conjunction with the wide diffusion in Kent of the earliest continental coinage (see below, p. 156), it suggests far closer contacts

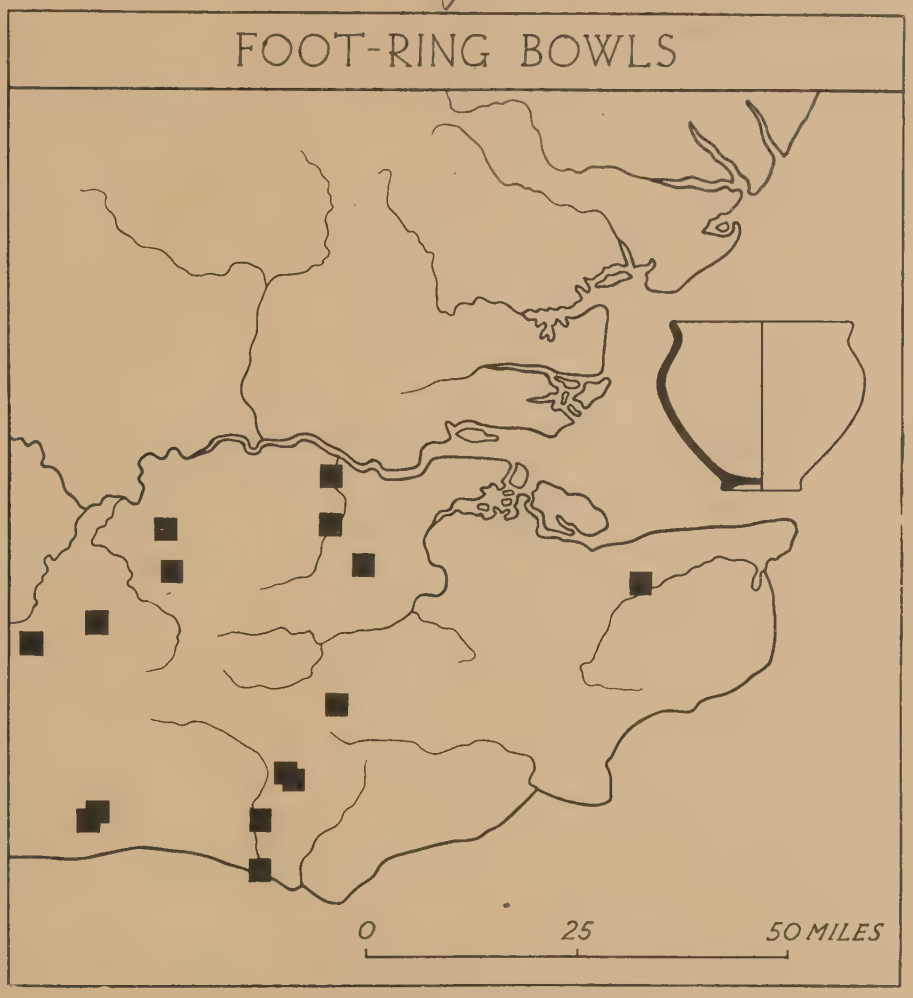

Fig. 6. Distribution of foot-ring bowls

between east and west Kent than are visible in the later pre-Roman period. Elsewhere in Kent complete vessels have been found at Hulbury and at Crayford. In both cases they represent an element intrusive upon the established Iron Age A population, and in the context they may fairly be regarded as the result of intercourse between the northern Weald and the Thames Estuary by way of the Darent valley.

To the south, foot-ring bowls have been found on a number of Early Iron Age sites in Sussex. The evidence has recently been re-examined by Mr.

Hawkes[1] ('The Caburn Pottery and its Implications', *Sussex Arch. Colls.*, lxxx (1939), pp. 217–62), who regards the foot-ring bowl (in its earlier forms with a well-developed pedestal) as typical of an intrusive continental culture which established itself in the west-central Sussex downlands during the third century B.C. At Park Brow a single sherd only of this ware was found on the site of the first settlement, in sharp contrast with the second settlement where similar vessels were common. It is reasonable, therefore, to assume that the people responsible for the sharp dislocation of life in this settlement were also responsible for the introduction of this distinctive fabric. Two further points may be noticed in connexion with this site and with the neighbouring site in Findon Park. Firstly, as Mr. Hawkes emphasizes, the attribution of this invasion to the third century B.C. rests on good evidence; and secondly, in the long period between the third century and the Roman conquest the characteristic pottery-type inevitably underwent modification. The earliest form, well attested, for example, at Park Brow, had a well-defined pedestal. With the passage of time, however, this became increasingly rudimentary, and it ended up as the characteristic foot-ring of the Wealden foot-ring bowl.

From its first home, in the strip of downland whose centre is Cissbury, this intrusive culture spread in two directions—eastwards along the Downs beyond Lewes, where it became fused with the strong local Iron Age A culture, and north-eastwards up into the Weald, which now probably for the first time became a centre of iron-working for the surrounding territories and in particular for Sussex.

The idea of a specifically Wealden culture is perhaps sufficiently novel to call for additional comment. This seems to be due to two factors, both of them geological. In the first place, the heavy clay-lands did undoubtedly exclude settlement from large areas of the Weald; and secondly, even in those areas where settlement was possible, the soil is so acid that it inevitably destroys much of the evidence of human occupation. No single fragment of iron, of bronze, or of bone was found during the excavations at Oldbury; and similar conditions no doubt account for the complete absence of Iron Age objects made of these materials from other sites in an area where occupation is securely attested by the existence of a number of earthworks. Much of the possible evidence of human occupation has vanished beyond hope of recovery. There remain only the earthworks themselves, the pottery, the coinage in precious metals, and a few miscellaneous items such as glass beads.

The coinage forms the subject of a special report by Mr. D. F. Allen

[1] In addition to the great deal of help that Mr. Hawkes has given me elsewhere in the preparation of this report I am particularly indebted to him for allowing me, under very difficult circumstances, to see the page-proof of his article.

(pp. 154–9). The only significant beads are of a distinctive type with inlaid spirals of differently coloured glass (see below, p. 165, fig. 17, nos. 1–3). One was found at Oldbury itself; another at Westerham, near the site of the next camp to the

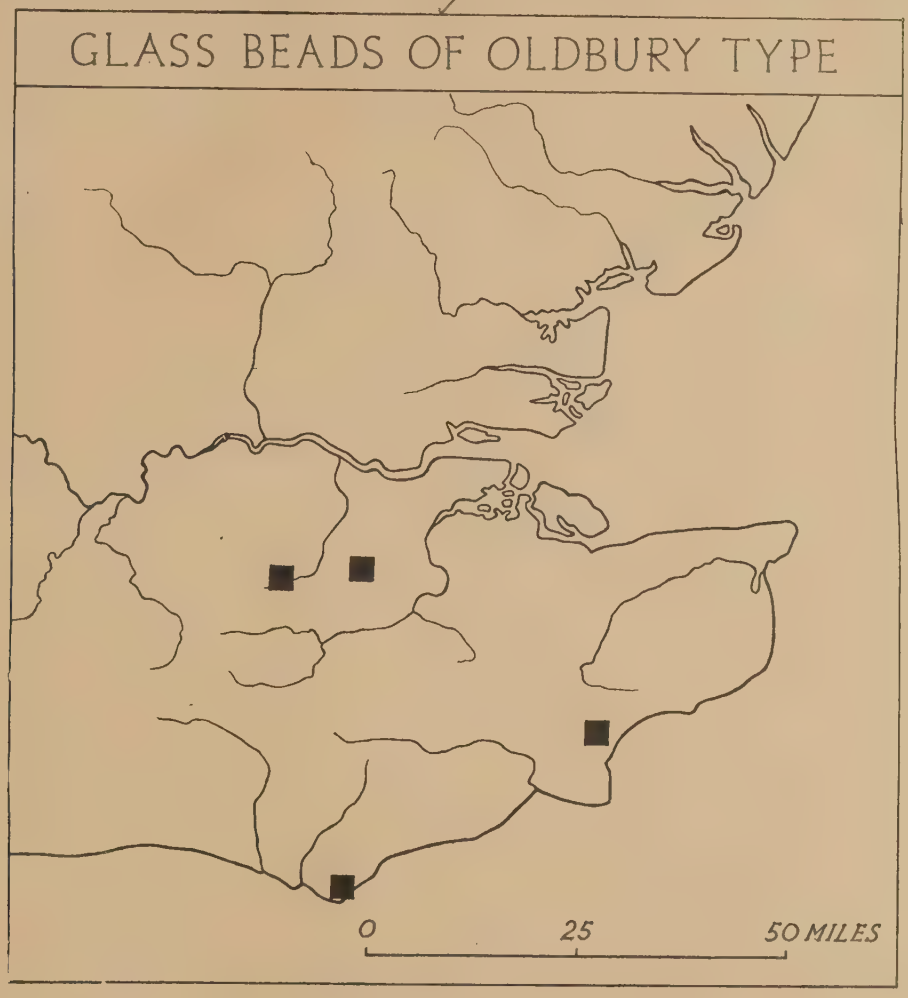

Fig. 7. Distribution of beads of the Oldbury type

west on the greensand belt; and a third in Sussex, near Eastbourne. A fourth was probably, but not certainly, found near Hythe (*Arch. Cant.*, l (1938), p. 154). Beads of the same general type, though usually with more pronounced bosses, are not unfamiliar on the continent, but no exact analogies seem to have been recorded elsewhere in England. The occurrence, therefore, of identical specimens in Sussex and in the Northern Weald is good evidence of contact between the two areas.

The earthworks of Kent and Surrey lie, with few exceptions, either near the Thames or on one of the open greensand stretches of the Weald (see pl. XXIV).

Of the latter group four only (Oldbury, Holmbury, Hascombe, and Saxonbury) have yielded pottery, and in each case this includes fragments of foot-ring bowls. The evidence, therefore, though limited, suggests a considerable unity of culture

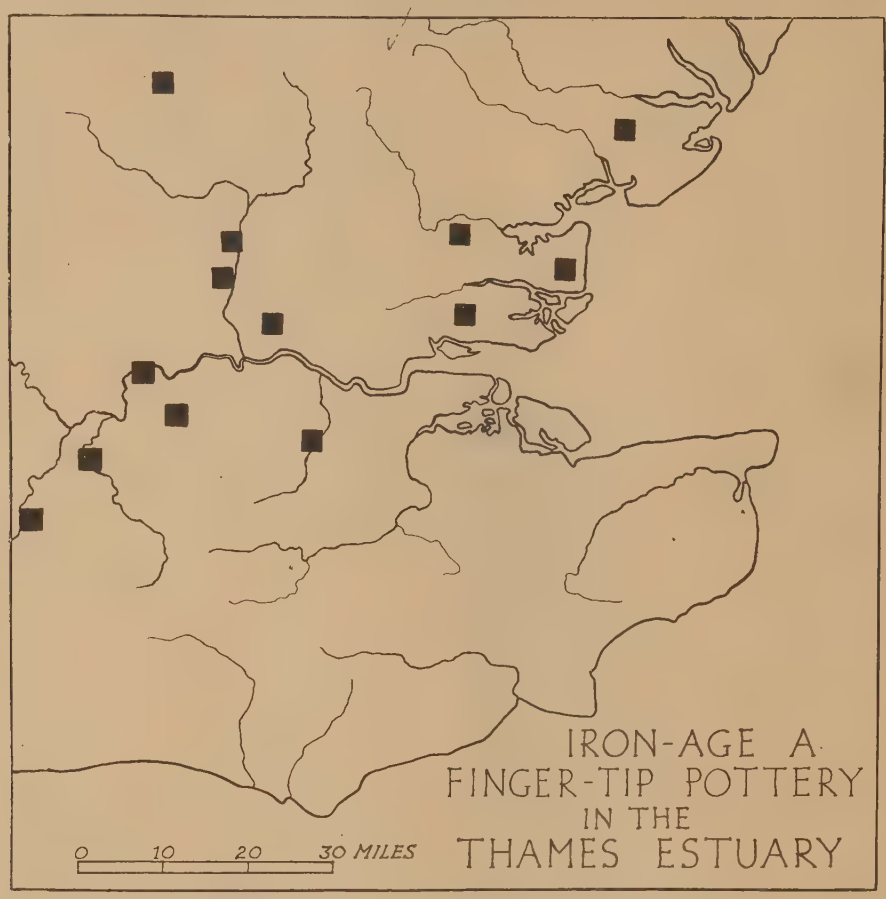

Fig. 8. Distribution of Iron Age A pottery with finger-tip ornament in the Thames Estuary

throughout the greensand series. There is also reason to believe that most, if not all, are relatively late.[1] A number of them have multiple defences. The outer lines are in some cases very rudimentary, as at Oldbury. But the recent researches of Dr. Wheeler in Wessex and in France have shown that, at least in these areas, the multiplication of defences in any form is apparently confined to the last century and a half before the Roman conquest of Britain; and although the whole question of multiple earthworks in south-eastern Britain requires further study, it is already clear that the primary centre for their diffusion in

[1] A possible exception is the earthwork at Boughton Monchelsea. Its form is unusual; and its situation near Maidstone and discoveries of early material in the immediate neighbourhood both suggest the possibility of a date rather earlier than that of the rest of the series.

southern England lies in the south-west, and that multiple earthworks elsewhere are liable to be relatively late. It is also clear that few of the Wealden camps were intended for permanent occupation.[1] They were, like Oldbury, centres of

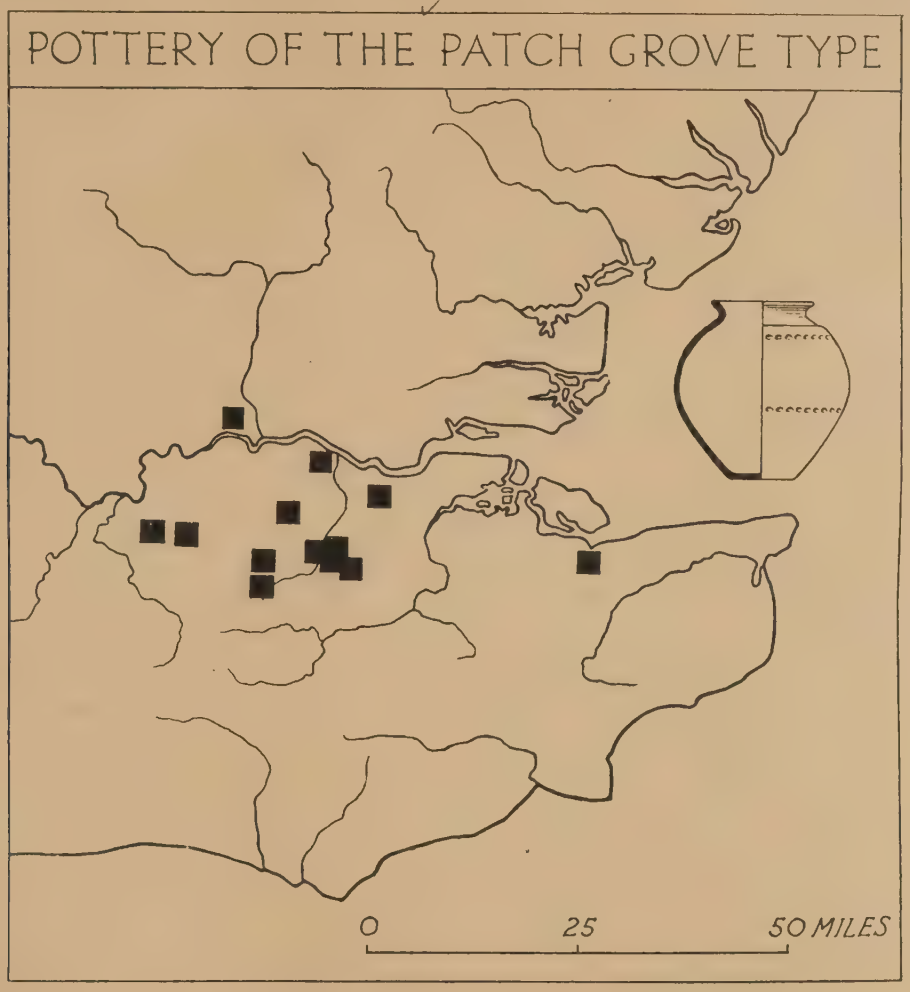

Fig. 9. Distribution of pottery of the Patch Grove type

refuge for a large scattered population; and it is a reasonable assumption that they also were erected in time of stress in response to some external danger. What that danger was it would perhaps be unwise to speculate.

The evidence for a specifically Wealden Iron Age culture is limited, but it is, as far as it goes, consistent. It remains, however, to set it in its proper

[1] With the exception of Saxonbury, which is structurally unique and appears to have been held in connexion with the working of the local iron-mines, none of these camps has produced evidence of continuous occupation. At Dry Hill, Lingfield, extensive excavations yielded only a number of sling-stones.

perspective by a brief examination of the other early Iron Age cultures that have been recorded[1] from western Kent.

The majority of recorded finds from this area belong to the later part of the pre-Roman Iron Age. One site alone, Hulbury, has produced specifically Iron Age A pottery. As will be seen from the distribution-map of this ware (fig. 8) it belongs to a group well represented in the Thames valley and in the coastal regions of Essex; but in the absence of other contemporary finds in western Kent it is impossible to say whether the Hulbury pottery is characteristic of the earlier Iron Age culture of this region or whether it is an isolated intruder. That there was a fairly strong Iron Age A substratum in some of the later cultural groups, e.g. at Crayford, is clear enough, but it must at present remain a somewhat incalculable factor.

Among the later pottery several clearly defined groups can be observed. In fact the most striking feature of the later Iron Age in western Kent is the diversity of its apparently contemporary cultural groups. These may conveniently be listed as follows:

(*a*) The foot-ring bowls of the Wealden area, where they probably were dominant until swamped at Oldbury by Belgic expansion and elsewhere by the Roman conquest.

(*b*) The 'Patch Grove' pottery (see check-list, p. 175, and distribution-map, fig. 9), current immediately before, and during the half century after, the Roman conquest. In the Darent valley, at any rate, it belongs in part to the pre-conquest period.

(*c*) Bead-rim bowls of the type found in great numbers at Charlton (see check-list, p. 176, and distribution-map, fig. 10), where it is the type-fabric of the, presumably late, pre-conquest period. Like the 'Patch Grove' pottery, with which it is probably exactly contemporary, it is distributed up the Darent valley.

(*d*) The coarse wares characteristic of the Crayford site (*Proc. Prehist. Soc.*, iv (1938), 151, figs. 4 and 5). So far these have not been found outside a comparatively restricted region at the mouth of the Darent.

(*e*) 'South-eastern B' wares, notably the characteristic omphalos-bowls (see *Proc. Prehist. Soc.*, iv (1938), 155, figs. 10 and 11).

(*f*) Belgic wares.

(*g*) Miscellaneous wares, apparently intrusive. Of these the most notable are the decorated vessel from Chiddingstone, the affinities of which lie south and west of the Weald; the pottery from Gravesend which appears to resemble that from certain east Kentish sites; and a small proportion of imported continental wares dating from the last years before the Roman conquest, e.g. at Crayford.

Of the above groups several are local fabrics, the presence of which is self-explanatory. Two groups, however, the South-eastern B and the Belgic, call for further discussion.

'South-eastern B' is an intrusive element represented on various coastal

[1] See check-list of pottery-finds from Kent, west of the Medway, pp. 170–2.

sites on either side of the Thames Estuary and in Sussex. It is characterized by the use of 'omphalos-bowls', probably derived, as Mr. Hawkes suggests (*Sussex Arch. Colls.*, lxxx (1939), 252–9) from bronze prototypes, and of a formal

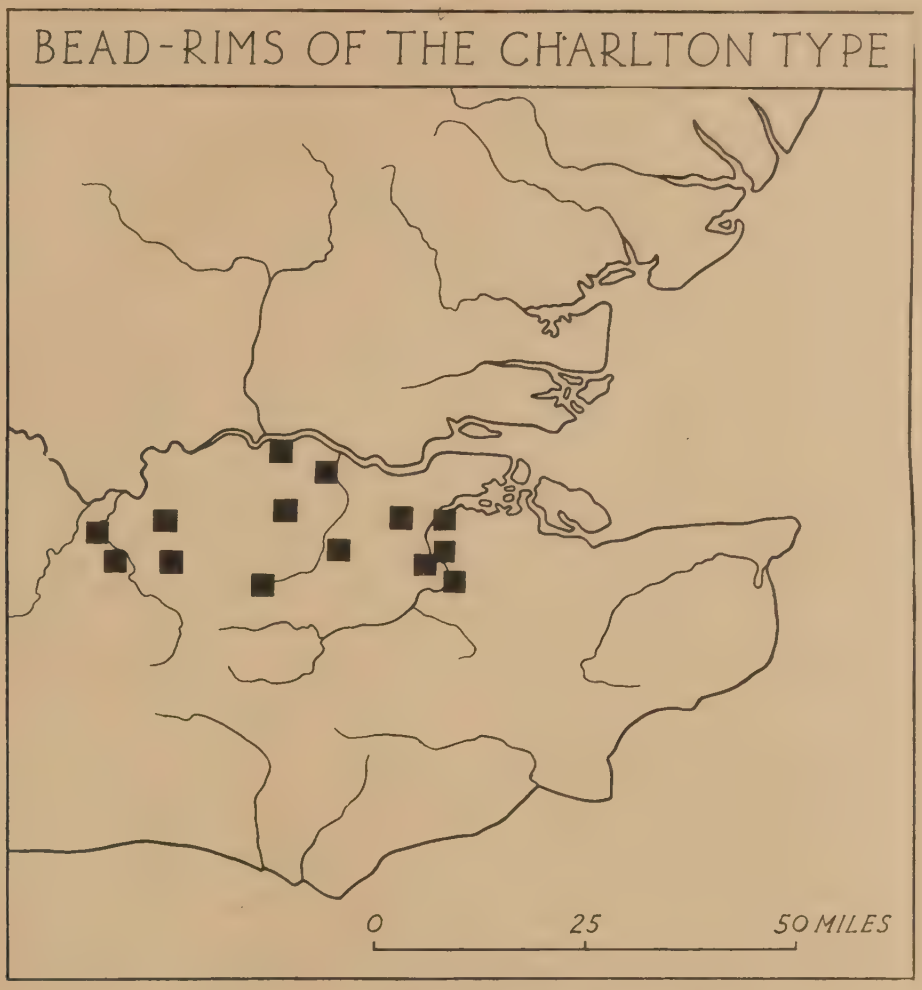

Fig. 10. Distribution of bead-rims of the Charlton type

curvilinear decoration consisting of 'eyebrows' or of interlocking swags in conjunction with small impressed circles. Both features are represented at Crayford; and isolated omphalos-bowls have been found on three other Kentish sites, Maidstone, Plaxtol, and Oldbury. The account of this culture given in *Proc. Prehist. Soc.*, iv (1938), 155, figs. 10 and 11, now requires modification in two respects. The excavations at Oldbury and Mr. Hawkes's analysis of the Sussex Iron Age cultures have shown conclusively that the foot-ring bowls (or 'squat pedestal-vessels') found at Crayford side by side with South-eastern B wares

were in fact by accident only so associated, since they belong in reality to the Wealden Iron Age culture. At Crayford as in Sussex, e.g. at the Caburn, the association represents the fusion of two separate cultures. Secondly, it is now clear that both in Sussex and in the Thames Estuary South-eastern B is an intrusive element; and the close analogies between its characteristic decorative elements and those used on certain Breton pots point unmistakably to Brittany as the immediate source of the culture.

The most important single culture of the Kentish Iron Age was that of the Belgae. It is therefore a matter for some surprise that west of the Medway there is no site where Belgic pottery is predominant, or even well represented, before the closing decade or two of the pre-Roman period. The cemetery at Stone is late; and the Belgic pottery at Oldbury was associated exclusively with the Claudian defences. Pedestal-urns are a distinctive type which, in Kent at any rate, are probably a fair criterion of Belgic settlement. Except at Stone and Oldbury they are represented west of the Medway only by isolated examples at Charlton, at Crayford (two), and at Carshalton in Surrey. East of the Medway, on the other hand, they are common; and one of the earliest sites, the cemetery at Aylesford, lies almost on the river, only a few miles from Maidstone.

The Medway was in prehistoric, as in later, times the great highway into Kent from the north (see Jessup, *Archaeology of Kent*, *passim*), a fact amply demonstrated by the quantity and diversity of finds of all periods from the neighbourhood of Maidstone. It also, however, marks the boundary between the two natural provinces into which Kent falls; and the distinction between 'Men of Kent' and 'Kentish Men' was as true in prehistoric times as it was later. In particular, it is clear from the evidence both of pottery and of coins (see below, p. 156) that, for a considerable time after the initial Belgic settlement in the downland triangle of north-eastern Kent, the Medway formed the boundary between the Belgae of east Kent and the peoples to the west of the river. Who the latter were, it is not easy to define. They seem to have come, in part at least, to judge from their coinage, under some form of Belgic influence or suzerainty; but of actual Belgic settlement there is, as we have seen, little or no trace. They were rather a very mixed assemblage of small peoples living together in an area defined on two sides by the territories of more powerful neighbours, to the south the Wealden peoples, to the east the Belgae. Wealden influences may be traced along the Darent valley at Hulbury and Crayford; and pottery of the 'Charlton' and 'Patch Grove' types found its way by the same route down into the Weald; but otherwise the two regions were distinct. On the east the line of demarcation was even clearer. In the latter part of the first century B.C. the frontiers of Dubnovellaunos and Tasciovanus marched on the line of the Medway; and as late as the early years of the first century A.D. the coinage of

Eppillus rigidly conforms to what was evidently still a well-marked political frontier. It is only under Cunobelin that the distinction vanishes. His coinage disregarded old boundaries and circulated freely everywhere. The same central-

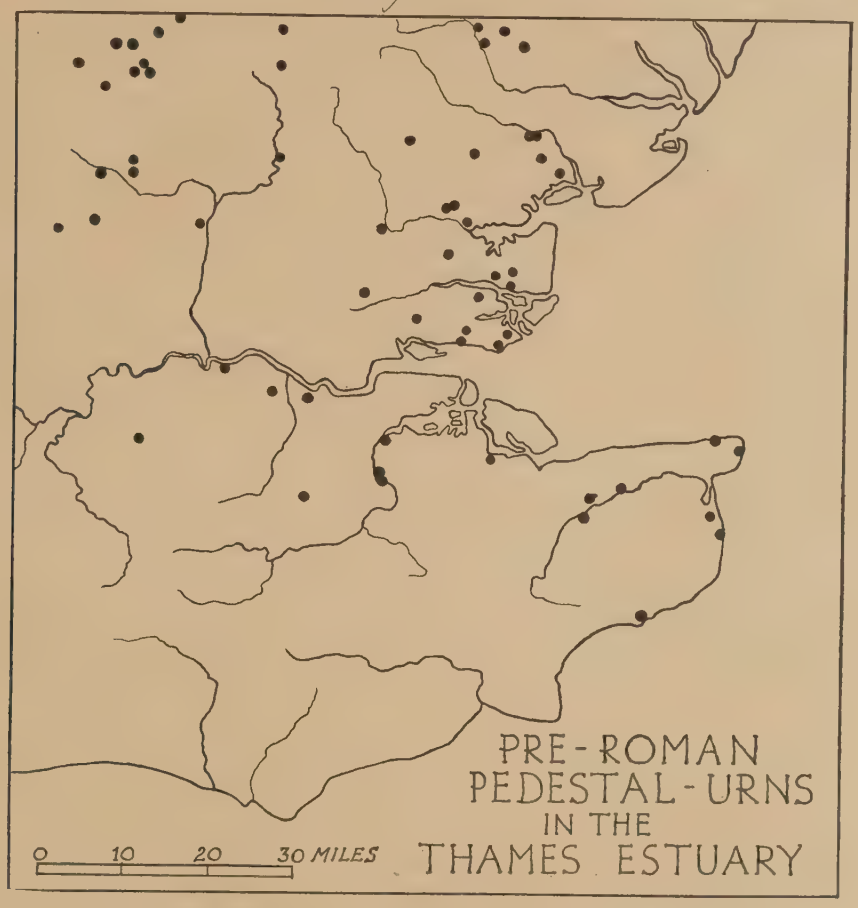

Fig. 11. Distribution of Iron Age pedestal-urns in the Thames Estuary
(This map is based on Hawkes and Dunning, 'The Belgae of Gaul and Britain' (*Arch. Journ.*, lxxxvii (1931), 150-335), with subsequent additions and corrections)

izing processes were at work in Kent as elsewhere in south-eastern Britain, eastern Kent ceased to be a separate kingdom; and at the same time the northern Weald came for the first time within the orbit of Belgic power.

The implications of these facts upon the history of Oldbury are obvious enough. Oldbury was first constructed by a non-Belgic Wealden people at some date within the first half of the first century A.D. In A.D. 43 it was redefended against the armies of Claudius by a people whose pottery was largely, if not predominantly, Belgic in character. At some time between the two building-periods—and the interval between the two was not large (see p. 143)—the

original population had come under Belgic domination. We know already from other sources that the reign of Cunobelin saw an expansion of Belgic power down into the northern Weald. One can hardly fail to associate the two events. Whether it was the threat of this same Belgic movement which had brought about the original fortification of Oldbury Hill we can hardly say. It seems a natural explanation for the sudden fortification of this enormous site by a people who had long been peacefully settled in the neighbourhood.

That the Wealden culture had been long established is reasonably certain. The pottery from which the characteristic Wealden vessels were, with comparatively small modification, derived was introduced into Sussex in the third century B.C. Moreover, no trace of any preceding Iron Age culture has been found in the northern Weald, and yet the earliest continental coinage introduced into Britain circulated freely up and down the greensand belt; and at Bigberry Wealden foot-ring bowls were found in an apparently pre-Caesarian context. The Wealden culture can therefore hardly have reached its final home any later than the beginning of the first century B.C. For a century or more its bearers lived near Ightham in open villages or farms, until, faced with some pressing danger from without, they built the great camp of Oldbury. Their work was in vain. They passed under Belgic domination. In their turn their new masters found themselves threatened, and Oldbury was again fortified, once more in vain. The Weald became a part of the Roman province of Britain, and Oldbury's brief history was done.

The Pre-Roman Coinage of Kent

(*Report by* Derek F. Allen, *Esq.*)

There remains for consideration one other important body of evidence for the character of the Iron Age in Kent, namely the coins. Mr. D. F. Allen has very kindly made the following report upon the coins from Oldbury and their relation to the rest of the Kentish Iron Age series:

Although no coins were found during the excavations at Oldbury, some six gold coins have been found on the site before. Two of these are the property of Mr. Hooker of Ightham and were found by him when driving a road up the hillside into the fort in 1923. Both coins were of the type attributed to the Gaulish tribe of the Bellovaci, one being a stater and the other a quarter-stater. The stater was much worn and clipped and weighed 99·6 gr. It came from the same dies as the coin in the British Museum from the Barnett Collection, no. 11, and is of the type known as Evans A 4.[1] The quarter-stater is also somewhat

[1] Sir John Evans, *Ancient British Coins* (1864); *Supplement* (1890). References are to the numbers on the plates of this work.

worn and is of the type of Evans A 5. Both types of coin were discussed by Dr. Brooke in his papers on Ancient British Coins,[1] and he there suggested that they were first imported into this country shortly before the first Belgic penetration.

Another stater of the same type, from the same dies as the coin in the British Museum, Hawkins MS. Catalogue, p. 39, no. 25, was probably also found at Oldbury. It is the property of Sir Edward Harrison and was given him by his father, Benjamin Harrison. It does not, however, seem to have been one of the three coins mentioned as having been found there in a letter from Benjamin Harrison to George Payne in 1895, but this is not certain.

The three coins mentioned in this letter include one which is described as 'exactly like that figured in *English Coins and Tokens*, Jewitt and Head, p. 6',[2] and is therefore of the type traditionally ascribed to the Morini of Gaul (Evans B 8); but the type, as Dr. Brooke said, is far more likely to have been struck by the Atrebates.[3] It belongs to a somewhat later stratum of the coinage, and is to be connected with the period of the secondary Belgic penetration about the time of Caesar's wars or soon after.

Another of the coins mentioned in the letter as from Oldbury is implied to be of the same type as the last, but no indication is given in it of the type of the third. Evans, however, mentions that a coin of this type B 12 was found at Ightham and was communicated to him by Mr. Harrison in 1874.[4] This is a variety of stater of about the same date, only found in Kent, which closely resembles a Sussex type. It may be the third of the coins mentioned in the letter.

The coins, therefore, known to have been found at Oldbury belong to the earliest period of Celtic coinage in Britain. It is remarkable that in spite of the continued occupation of the site down to the coming of the Romans no coinage of a later date has been found. An explanation of this may, perhaps, emerge from a general study of pre-Roman coinage in Kent which, though not strictly relevant to the coins found at Oldbury, may throw some light on the history of the site. After pottery, coinage is the chief evidence for the history of Kent in this period, and the maps prepared by Dr. Brooke shortly before his death have made a study of this subject comparatively simple.

[1] *Numismatic Chronicle* (1933), pp. 88–138, 'The Philippus in the West and the Belgic Invasions of Britain'; *Antiquity*, vii (1933), pp. 268–89, 'The Distribution of Gaulish and British Coins in Britain'.

[2] L. Jewitt, *English Coins and Tokens* (1886) (Young Collector Series). A section on Greek coins was written by B. V. Head. This is presumably the coin mentioned in Evans (p. 435) as having been found at Oldbury in 1885.

[3] While this report was being written, a coin of this type, found some years ago at Mainfield, near Ightham, was presented to the British Museum.

[4] Evans, p. 436.

The earliest coins found in Kent are the uninscribed gold staters and quarter staters of the Bellovaci[1] and the Atrebates[2] imported to this country about the period of the first Belgic penetration. They are chiefly found in two areas of Kent connected by the common highway of the Medway. The first area consists of Thanet and the neighbouring coast in both directions and stretches along the Thames as far as London. The second area includes Oldbury and the similar Kentish forts spread along the greensand belt immediately north of the Weald. The coins are fairly plentiful in both areas. The worn state of the coins found in the second area implies that they had a long circulation there.

In the same two narrow regions there are found in smaller numbers barbarous tin coins which I have suggested were the earliest coins produced in this country,[3] and belong to approximately the same period.

The next stage of coinage found in Kent, still consisting only of gold staters and quarter staters, belongs to a later phase of Belgic penetration. It is fairly plentiful, but not so common as the earlier series. Most of the coins of this period,[4] such as two of those found at Oldbury, were probably imported, but a few coins have been found which were struck in Britain.[5] The imported coins are of types usually attributed to the Morini, but are almost certainly a later issue of the mint which produced the coins of the Atrebates.[6] It is interesting that they have mostly been found on the greensand belt and only a few have come from Thanet or the banks of the Thames. The native-made coins of this group are of a type which originated on the Sussex coast,[7] while one stater found at Ightham and another from Maidstone have affinities with a small Sussex or Ashdown Forest group.[8]

Towards the close of the first century B.C. inscribed coins in all three metals were introduced to Kent. This is the period dominated by the name of Tasciovanus. Though his coins are mostly found north of the Thames, a number of them have been found in a small neighbourhood on the west bank of the Medway. Only two of his coins have come from east Kent and these from the almost international soil of Thanet. The area east of the Medway has produced numerous coins of Dubnovellaunos, which must belong to approximately the same date. The two rulers clearly shared the Medway as a frontier. It is interesting that coins struck during this period are only found in Kent in the coastal regions except at the point where the Medway divides the greensand belt. The Wealden peoples did not use the coins of Tasciovanus or Dubnovellaunos.

[1] Evans A 1–8. [2] Evans A 9, etc.
[3] *Transactions of the International Congress of Numismatists* (1936), pp. 351–7: 'British Tin Coinage of the Iron Age.' [4] Evans B 8. [5] Evans B 9–10.
[6] Brooke, *Num. Chron.* (1933), p. 104. [7] Evans B 9–10. [8] Evans B 12, compare 3.

The coins of Dubnovellaunos and Tasciovanus are not the only inscribed coins from Kent belonging to the period of Tasciovanus. A number of coins both of gold and bronze bearing other names have been found there, distributed over exactly the same area as the coins of Dubnovellaunos. These coins, though bearing different legends on each denomination, are clearly linked with one another by the peculiarities of their style. The legend on the staters cannot be read, but on the quarter-staters it is VOSII (= VOSE) and on the copper pieces SA (= SA).[1] These coins have certain technical details, such as the beaded circle surround and the forms of the letters, which suggest that they are later than the coins of Dubnovellaunos. There are also some uninscribed coins of this period, mostly of bronze, which, though without inscription, clearly imitate the inscribed Essex issues of Dubnovellaunos. These coins also are only found in the eastern province and along the Medway.

My views as to the next stage in Kentish coins may give rise to some dispute. Coins inscribed *Eppillus Commi Filius*, in whole or in part, are found in exactly the same area of Kent as those of Dubnovellaunos and his contemporaries. It has been held by Dr. Brooke that Eppillus was the predecessor of Dubnovellaunos.[2] The reason for this lies chiefly in his use of the title 'Commi Filius'. Until lately, when the initial date of British coins was brought forward by about a century, it was impossible to place the reign of a son of Commius in the first century A.D. Even Collingwood follows Evans in avoiding the obvious identification of Verica, another of his sons, with the Βέρικος who was exiled from Britain in about A.D. 43.[3] There is every reason to identify these two kings, and we must attribute the coinage of the southern kingdom to a much later date than has hitherto been thought possible.[4] The coins of Eppillus are parallel in style with the earlier issues of Verica; they are influenced by Roman types and are consistent with the view that he reigned in Kent in the early part of the first century A.D. It has often been pointed out that he must have come there as an invader, for the coins of the other successors of Commius are not found in Kent. Coins of Eppillus inscribed CALLE or CALLEV[5] have been

[1] Evans IV. 13, 14, XIII. 12. The last type was wrongly read by Evans as CA. A fine example from the Carlyon Britton Sale, lot 103, gives the true reading S. Examples have now been found at Richborough, in Thanet, and near Kits Coty House. [2] Brooke, *Antiquity*, vii (1933), p. 288.

[3] R. G. Collingwood and J. N. L. Myres, *Roman Britain and the English Settlements* (1936), pp. 58, 76, 78.

[4] My views on the chronology of Ancient British coins as a whole form the subject of a paper in *Archaeologia*, lxxxix. This note on coins found in Kent was written before the broader study was set on paper and was intended as a final presentation of the views more fully expounded there.

[5] Confusion has been caused by the omission from Brooke's map of the coins mentioned in Evans's *Supplement*, p. 521. The coin there recorded from Wallingford was actually found at Watlington. The coin from Wallingford is recorded in Ashmole's *Antiquities of Berkshire* (1736), p. 29, and may probably be identified with a silver coin in the British Museum.

found in Sussex at Bracklesham and in Berkshire near Wallingford, both within the territory of the Southern Kingdom, while coins with this legend have never been found in Kent. In spite of what has been said to the contrary,[1] there can, therefore, be little doubt that CALLEV indicates a more westerly mint, almost certainly that of 'Calleva Atrebatum' or Silchester. The types of these coins are less Romanized than those of his Kentish coins, and must have preceded them. It would seem therefore that Eppillus, perhaps on the death or exile of Tincommius, tried to set up a kingdom in Silchester; his attempt was resisted, perhaps by Verica, and he moved to Kent; there he won for himself the area previously ruled by Dubnovellaunos, who was, as we know from the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, the contemporary of Tincommius. Like his predecessor he failed to extend his kingdom west of the Medway, and his dominion did not spread inland to the forts of the greensand belt.

The final stage in the pre-Roman coinage of Kent was reached when Cunobelin, the son of Tasciovanus, extended his dominions to include the whole Kentish area. His coins are found in fairly large numbers in Kent, and are more widely scattered there than those of the previous kings. More of them, indeed, have been found in the greensand belt than on the coast. The great majority are of gold. These are the first and only inscribed coins regularly found in the greensand belt.

This picture of the currency of Kent before the Roman conquest shows that the county was divided into three distinct provinces as follows:

(1) The first area to be affected by the influx of coinage was the greensand belt in which Oldbury stands. At the time of the first Belgic invasion and for some time later gold coins without inscriptions, mostly imported from abroad, circulated there. Such connexions as the coins show within the country are with Sussex rather than with the north. Contact with the north was, however, always maintained by the highway of the Medway. During the following half century coinage disappears from the belt, or, if any coins were in circulation, they were now well-worn specimens of the coins imported long before. Finally, some time in the first century A.D. the gold coinage of Cunobelin found its way into the area.

(2) The coastal region between the greensand belt and the sea is divided into two provinces by the Medway. The western province has yielded relatively few coins. Early imported types are found along the banks of the Thames, but no distinction can be drawn between the provinces at this date. The first concentrated distribution of coins occurs in the period of Tasciovanus, by whom it appears to have been conquered towards the end of the first century B.C. Many of his coins have come from the area between the Medway

[1] E. C. Curwen, 'The Calleva of Eppillus', *Antiquity*, xi (1937), p. 104.

and the Darent. Coins of his successor Cunobelin are found from the same area, but they show no such concentration between limited frontiers. There is no evidence that in this reign it was still a separate province.

(3) The land to the east of the Medway, especially Thanet, has yielded far more coins than the land to the west. The first evidence for a separate kingdom here is in the time of Tasciovanus and is provided by the extensive coins with the name of Dubnovellaunus. Coins of other types bearing his name are found in Essex, but the relative chronology of his kingdom in Kent and Essex is a matter of conjecture. A number of miscellaneous inscribed coins are found in the same part of Kent; these coins represent, no doubt, a period of unstable government following the reign of Dubnovellaunus. The next stage is reached in the coinage of the invader Eppillus. This king, one of the sons of Commius, probably did not have a long career here. He had already won and lost a kingdom near Silchester. He was soon displaced by the powerful Cunobelin, who broke down the boundary which separated the land east and west of the Medway and united both with the more primitive regions of the greensand belt.

Whether the geographical divisions suggested by the coins correspond with the cultural and political divisions can best be judged by the results of Mr. Ward Perkins's excavations.

Material Finds at Oldbury

(a) *Pottery*

(i) *Fig. 12, nos. 1–21, associated with the construction of the primary defences on sites 1–3.* A considerable portion of the pottery illustrated is wheel-turned fairly good grey ware with a dark brown or black polished surface. The remainder are in a coarser pitted grey-brown hand-made ware. The cross-marked base, no. 11, is a feature characteristic of the Iron Age in Sussex and elsewhere (e.g. at Caburn, second period, *Sussex Arch. Colls.*, lxviii (1927), pl. xvi). No. 15, with finger-nail ornament on the rim suggests Surrey influence, but it must be remembered that a similar vessel is among the unpublished material (largely pre-Belgic in type) from the Aylesford Belgic cemetery.

(ii) *Fig. 13, nos. 1–4 are from the silting of the primary ditch:*

1. Hand-made grey-black ware, very crude.

2. Fragment of an omphalos-base in slightly sandy grey ware with a black polished surface. It belonged evidently to an omphalos-bowl of South-eastern B type (see *Proc. Prehist. Soc.*, iv (1938), 151–68), of which Kentish examples have been found at Maidstone, Plaxtol, and Crayford.

3. Brittle poorly-fired gritty hand-made brown ware, the rim is in places pressed outwards into an irregular beading.

4. Grey table-turned ware with a black polished surface, identical with the polished wares from the primary rampart elsewhere (e.g. fig. 12, no. 1).

(iii) *Fig. 13, nos. 5–19, and fig. 14, nos. 1–9 are associated with the rebuilding of the rampart in A.D. 43.* A proportion of these sherds belong, no doubt, to the earlier phase:

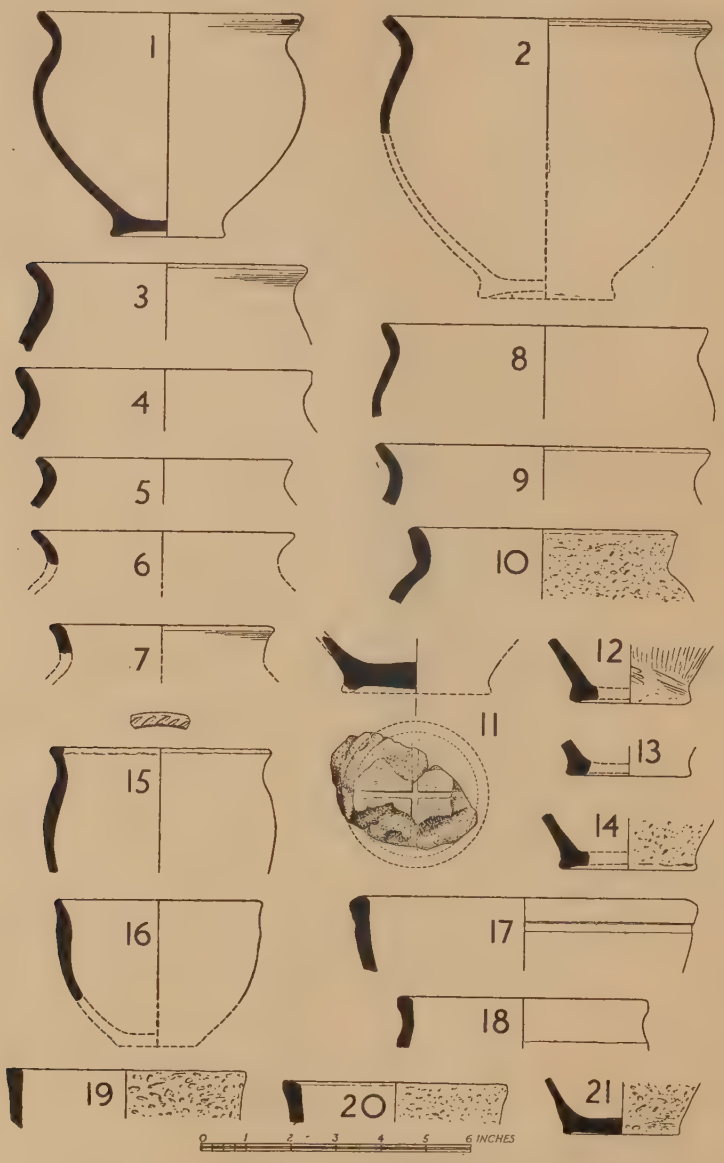

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Fig. 12. Pottery from Oldbury, Sites 1–3, associated with the construction of the primary defences ($\frac{1}{4}$)

5. Grey rather lumpy ware, table-turned, with a dull soapy finish. For the form cf. fig. 14, no. 10, from the Patch Grove site.

6. Black gritless ware with a rather sandy pitted surface; hand-made.

7. Grey ware, table-turned, with a high brown-black polish.

8. Fairly hard grey-black ware, table-turned, with a rough orange-brown surface.
9. Heavy grey ware, table-turned, with a brown roughly polished surface.

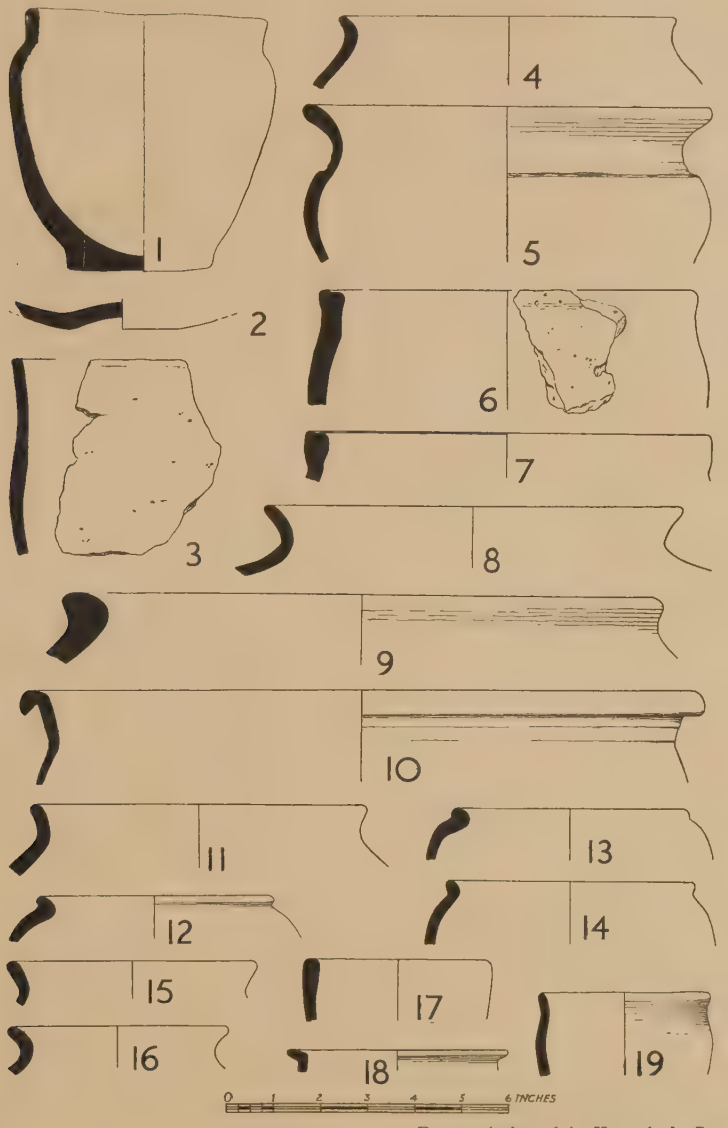

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Fig. 13. Pottery from the North-East Gate, Oldbury, Site 4
Nos. 1–4. From the silting of the primary ditch
Nos. 5–19. Associated with the rebuilding of the rampart, A.D. 43

10. Hard sandy wheel-turned black ware with a rather pitted pale brown surface. This was one of the few vessels from the silting of the secondary ditch.
11. Rather coarse gritty grey wheel-turned ware, slightly polished.
12. Hard sandy grey-brown wheel-turned ware.

13. Hard grey wheel-turned ware. From the silting of the destroyed secondary ditch, to the west of the North-east Gate.

14. Fine grey wheel-turned ware with a high dark brown polish.

15. Wheel-turned grey ware with polished surface, similar to the best sherds from the primary rampart.

16. Grey table-turned ware, rather soft, with a bright red surface.

17. Coarse grey table-turned ware, slightly polished.

18. Wheel-turned gritless grey ware with a highly polished flaky dark grey surface.

19. Roughly table-turned ware with a strongly tooled dark brown surface.

Fig. 14:

1. Hard grey-brown table-turned ware with a bright orange-brown polished surface.
2. Wheel-turned grey ware with a black polished surface.
3. Wheel-turned grey ware with a black highly polished surface.
4. Wheel-turned grey ware with a buff lightly polished surface.
5. Wheel-turned hard grey ware, rough-surfaced.
6. Hand-made pitted corky grey ware.
7. Table-turned grey ware with the remains of a shiny black surfacing.
8. Wheel-turned pink ware with a grey core and an olive-grey polished surface.
9. Wheel-turned grey ware with a polished black surface.

(iv) *Fig. 15, nos. 1–2. Two Belgic pedestal-urns, from burials inserted in the outer defences by the North-east Gate after their completion.* They are of wheel-turned ware with a polished red-brown surface decorated with light burnishing. An identical vessel, from a burial found beneath the Roman villa at Folkestone, is preserved in the Folkestone Museum.

(v) *Fig. 14, nos. 10–13. Pottery from Patch Grove:*

10. Coarsely wheel-turned grey-black ware with a polished black surface. Cf. fig. 13, no. 5, from the A.D. 43 defences, and fig. 14, no. 14, from the Progress Roman villa.
11. Coarsely wheel-turned red-brown bead-rim bowl.
12. Coarsely wheel-turned grey bead-rim bowl.
13. Miniature vessel of gritless brown ware, coarsely wheel-turned.

The pottery from the rubbish-dumps on the Patch Grove site was not closely stratified (see p. 142), although the earlier material was, generally speaking, at the bottom of the deposits. A large percentage of this earlier pottery consisted of fragments of large storage jars with an everted neck, generally slightly rilled on the lower portions, and zones of stabbing on the shoulder and round the body, the latter covering the joint between the two halves in which these large vessels were ordinarily made. The ware is a porridgy grey with an orange surfacing, rather underfired. The specimens from Patch Grove were too fragmentary for illustration; but they belong to a consistent and easily recognizable fabric which occurs on a number of first century A.D. sites in north-west Kent and Surrey (see figs. 9 and 16; and check-list, p. 175). These vessels appeared in Kent shortly before the Roman conquest and continued in use, in a slightly sophisticated form, probably throughout the first century A.D. There is not yet sufficient material from the immediately

preceding period to explain the appearance of a form of decoration normally associated with an earlier phase of the British Iron Age. The pottery-series from Leigh Hill, Cobham, in the Guildford Museum (see *Surrey Arch. Colls.*, xxii (1909), 137–54 : some of it is shortly

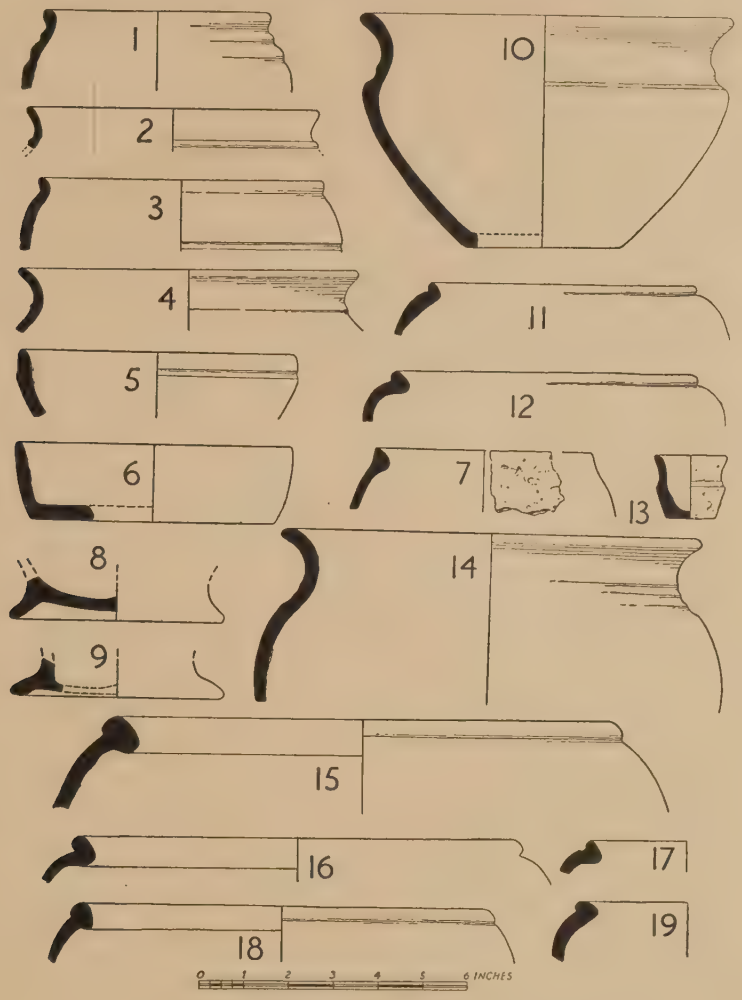

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Fig. 14. Pottery from Oldbury and from other local sites ($\frac{1}{4}$)
Nos. 1–9. From the North-East Gate, Oldbury, Site 4, associated with the construction of the primary defences
Nos. 10–13. From Patch Grove (p. 162)
Nos. 14–19. From other local sites (see pp. 164–5)

to be republished by Mr. A. W. G. Lowther) does, however, suggest the possibility of direct continuity in that area with the Iron Age A finger-tip tradition.

Of the other pottery representative of the earliest occupation of the Patch Grove site the characteristic bead-rim bowls are exactly paralleled in the A.D. 43 levels of the camp above. They show (e.g. fig. 14, no. 12) a tendency towards the internal projection characteristic of the north-west Kentish group (cf. fig. 14, nos. 15, 16, 18), but not in its

most exaggerated form. Dishes, with absolutely plain upright sides, and a few cordoned Belgic sherds were also found; but the proportion of specifically Belgic material was small.

There does not really seem to be sufficient evidence as yet to show whether the

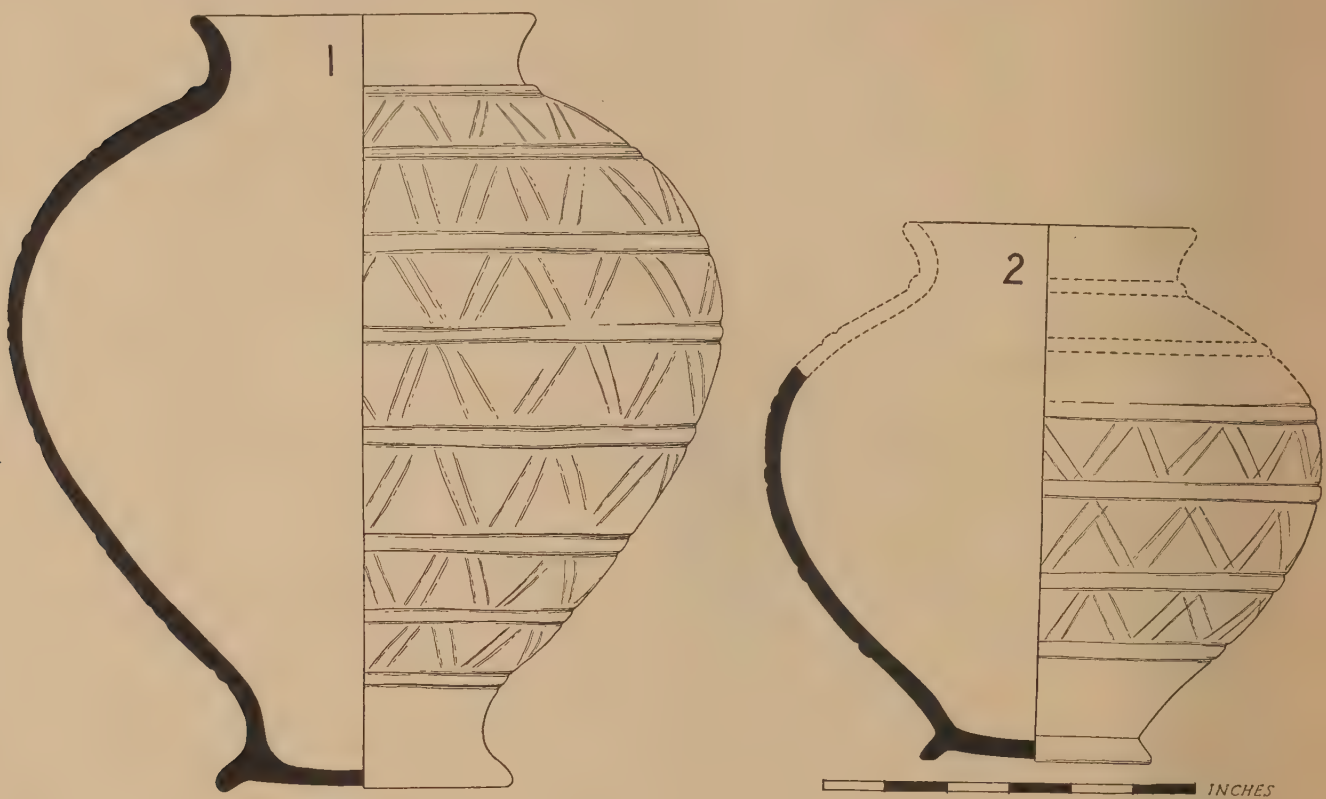

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Fig. 15. Belgic pedestal-urns from Oldbury, found containing cremations buried in the outer defences after their completion (p. 162)

earliest occupation of the Patch Grove site is contemporary with, or immediately subsequent to, the latest phase of the Oldbury earthworks.

(vi) *Pottery illustrated from various other local sites:*

Fig. 14, no. 14. Wheel-turned porridgy grey ware with a purple-brown polished coating inside and outside. Cf. fig. 13, no. 5, fig. 14, no. 10, of which it is a slightly more developed form. From the 'Progress' Roman villa at Otford, *c.* A.D. 50–75 (see *Report of the Excavation Committee of the Sevenoaks Society on the Roman Site at Otford, 1928*). Now in the Sevenoaks Museum.

15. Hard wheel-turned red ware with much calcite-grit. From the 'Progress' Roman villa at Otford, *c.* A.D. 50–75. Now in the Sevenoaks Museum.

16. Pitted corky ware (typical of the coarser vessels from the Crayford village-site, *Proc. Prehist. Soc.*, iv (1938), 151, fig. 4), wheel-turned. For the form cf. the bead-rim

bowls from Charlton (*J.B.A.A.*, xxii (1916), 183, fig. 22; xxix (1923), 227). From Crayford, site unknown. In the Dartford Public Museum.

18. Corky red ware. From Merle Common, Limpsfield, found with stabbed pottery of the Patch Grove type, and other mid-first-century ware (*Surrey Arch.*

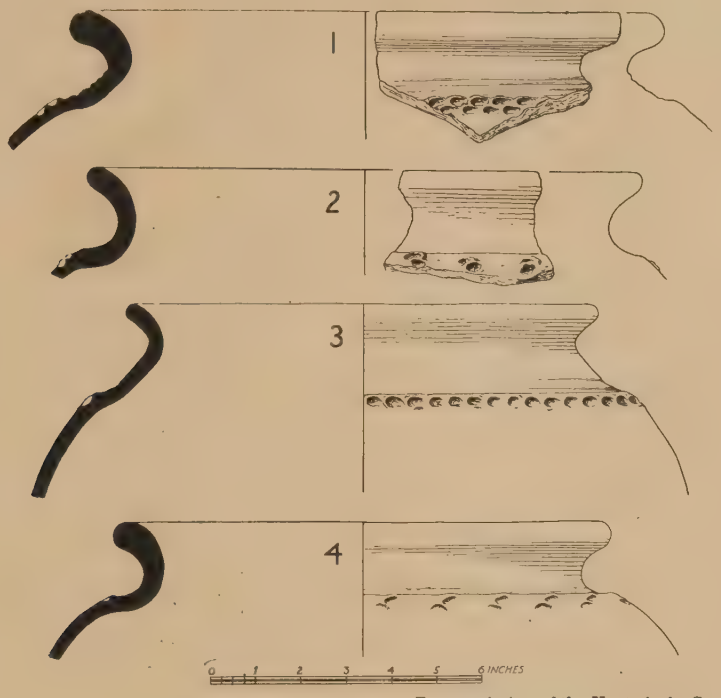

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Fig. 16. Pottery of the Patch Grove type

Nos. 1–2. From the 'Progress' Roman villa, Otford. In the Sevenoaks Museum. Found with bead-rim vessels of the 'Charlton' type (see p. 170) and other first-century pottery. *Report of the Excavation Committee of the Sevenoaks Society on the Roman site at Otford*, Sevenoaks, 1935.

Nos. 3–4. From Orpington. In the possession of Mr. A. Eldridge. Found with bead-rim vessels of the 'Charlton' type and other first-century pottery on sites between High Street, St. Mary Cray, and Orpington By-pass.

Colls., xlii, 110). In the possession of Mr. I. D. Margary, F.S.A.

19. Corky red ware. From Merle Common (see *s.v.* no. 18).

For the pottery found at Hulbury (fig. 18) see below, p. 171.

(b) *Glass Beads* (fig. 17)

No. 1. Blue glass bead with whorls of white glass inset. Found in a fox's earth on the slopes below the ramparts above Styant's Bottom. It is very possibly a relic of a 'necklace' found nearby by a workman many years ago and used up as ammunition for a catapult. The technique is familiar in the Iron Age (e.g. the necklace from Queens Barrow, Arras, Yorks. E. R., *Archaeologia*, lx (1907), fig. 30), but this precise form is

only recorded from Kent and Sussex. Two examples in blue and white glass are here illustrated, from Westerham (fig. 17, no. 2) and from Bexley Hill, near Eastbourne (fig. 17, no. 3), both in the British Museum. A third, probably from the neighbourhood of Romney Marsh, published in *Arch. Cant.*, l (1938), 153–4, is similar, but the whorls are yellow. For the distribution see fig. 7. This spiral ornament is characteristic of La Tène II on the continent (Déchelette, *Manuel*, iv, 825).

4. Small bead of amber glass. Found unstratified in cutting section A–B by the North-east Gate.

5. Small bead of dark blue glass. Found unassociated.

(c) *Coins*

See pp. 154–9.

(d) *Foreign stone*

(i) Part of a rotary-quern, made of lava, heavily striated on the grinding-surface, which is slightly concave. It was used in the construction of the revetment near the crest of reconstructed rampart (section A–B) and dates presumably from the immediately preceding period.

(ii) Whetstone. A whetstone of micaceous schist was found on site 2 on the forward slope of the rampart. It was not stratified in an Iron Age deposit, and is probably of medieval date (see G. C. Dunning in *Proceedings of the Isle of Wight Natural History and Archaeological Society*, ii (1937), 682).

(iii) Slingstones. Roughly circular, water-worn pebbles were found in considerable quantities in all parts of the camp. They are, of course, foreign to the greensand though occurring occasionally in the overlying drift; and in view of the consistency of their size and shape there can be little doubt that they were deliberately brought to Oldbury for use as slingstones. Large numbers of similar pebbles were found at Dry Hill Camp, Lingfield. The average weight of 37 examples, collected at random, was slightly under 3 ounces.

The nearest pebbly deposit is about 3 miles north of the camp, in Knockmill Wood, where there is an early high-level bed of Eocene pebbles, similar to those found during the excavations. This may well have been the source of the Oldbury slingstones; and in any case their presence within the camp confirms the extensive use of the route across the Gault to the North Downs, where alone such deposits are found.

Other Early Iron Age Structures and Finds in South-Eastern Britain

(a) *Iron Age Camps*

(i) *Kent*

Bigberry, Harbledown. Multiple bank-and-ditch hill-fort of some complexity, excavated in 1933–4 by Mr. R. F. Jessup. It belongs to the latter part of the pre-Roman Iron Age, for pottery of Belgic type was found beneath the rampart. Finds within the camp have included horses' bits and linch-pins of the same types as those in the Yorkshire chariot-burials. For the significance of this see the writer's paper on 'Iron Age Horses' Bits' in *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* v (1939), 173–92; also *Antiq. Journ.*, xx (1940), 358–67; *Arch. Cant.*, xlviii (1936), 151–68.

Boughton Monchelsea. Single, very large bank-and-ditch partially destroyed. No entrances extant. It is not sited on naturally defensive ground. Finds from the immediate

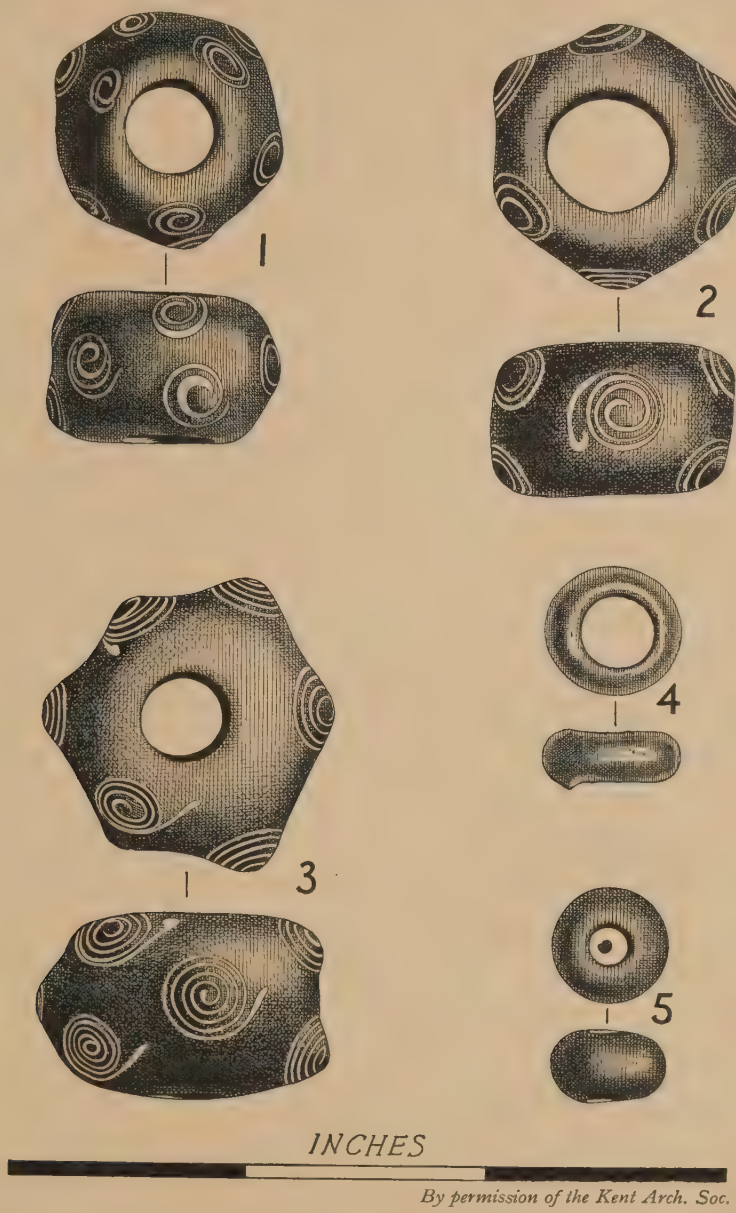

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Fig. 17. Glass Beads (see pp. 147, 165)
Nos. 1, 4, and 5. From Oldbury. No. 2. From Westerham
No. 3. From Eastbourne

neighbourhood include (i) a boat-shaped brooch of Hallstatt type (*Proc. Soc. Ant.*, 2, xxi (1905–7), 113, fig. 21; Jessup, *Archaeology of Kent*, 131, fig. 19); (ii) Iron Age coins of most of the types represented in Kent.

Charlton. A strong earthwork with double bank-and-ditch, sited on a promontory overlooking the Thames-side marshes. Single bank-and-ditch, of which very little now remains, the greater part of the site having been quarried away. The majority of the material recovered from the interior belongs to the Roman period, but the earthwork itself is undoubtedly pre-Roman (*J.B.A.A.*, xxii (1916), 123–91; xxix (1923), 227–39).

Hulbury, near Lullingstone Castle. No traces of a defensive earthwork remain, for the site is under intensive cultivation. The commanding position, however, overlooking the Darent valley, coupled with the name, suggests the former existence of an Iron Age hill-fort, and five pits containing pottery of this period were excavated by Mr. S. Priest and members of the Dartford Antiquarian Society. The pottery is discussed below (p. 171).

Keston (i) *Holwood.* Contour hill-fort, double bank-and-ditch on west, single on north, destroyed to south and east. Entrance on west with a slight inturn of the banks. (*V.C.H. Kent*, i, 398, with plan.)

Keston (ii) *Common.* Promontory fort with a weak single bank-and-ditch enclosing an area of about 15 acres between two marshy valleys. It lies immediately to the west of Holwood Camp, and may well be a subsidiary cattle-enclosure, contemporary with the stronger fortification. (B. H. St. J. O'Neil, 'The promontory fort on Keston Common', *Arch. Cant.*, xlv (1933), 124–8.)

Nettlestead, Milbay Camp. Hill-fort, not now a complete enclosure, set on a slight slope in rather marshy woodland. About 1,500 feet of earthworks facing south-west. (*V.C.H. Kent*, i, 400, with plan.)

Oldbury. See also *Arch. Cant.*, xlv (1933), 142–61.

Tonbridge, Castle Hill. Contour hill-fort, double bank-and-ditch on east side, single on north-east: remainder destroyed save for stretch at west end. Entrance on east side, partially excavated by Mr. S. E. Winbolt (*The Times*, 30th August, 1929); no finds.

Tunbridge Wells, High Rocks. The remains of a considerable camp, half a mile south-west of the town, identified and surveyed by Mr. J. H. Money. Double ramparts enclose the main area of the camp, but the north-west is defended by a sheer escarpment. There is a single entrance to the south-east. Trial excavations, undertaken by Mr. Money, have revealed traces of occupation beneath the inner rampart (*Sussex Arch. Colls.*, lxxxii (1941), 104–9).

Westerham, Goodley Stock, Squerryes Park. Contour hill-fort on a promontory, single bank-and-ditch, double across the neck. Entrance to south-east with an outlying covering bank. (*Arch. Cant.*, xvi (1886), 136, with plan.)

The *V.C.H. Kent*, i, 334–7 lists a number of other earthworks. Many of these are undoubtedly post-Roman; and in no case, other than those here listed, does the evidence justify an attribution to the Early Iron Age. For a first-hand opinion on those I have not visited personally I am much indebted to Mr. R. F. Jessup.

(ii) *Surrey*

The Surrey camps seem in the main to fall into two groups: (i) medium to small, roughly circular, single bank-and-ditch enclosures on fairly level ground; (ii) large, often

multiple, hill-top or promontory forts. To the first group belong the enclosures on Ashtead Common and Crooksbury Common, the two Carshalton Camps and Caesar's Camp, Wimbledon. In two instances, the Queen Mary's Hospital site at Carshalton, recently excavated by Mr. Lowther, and Caesar's Camp, Wimbledon, where pipe-laying was supervised by Mr. Lowther and Mr. F. Cottrill, camps of this first group have been shown to be of Iron Age A construction. The large hill-forts belong mainly to the greensand ridge, although St. George's Hill, Weybridge, and Caesar's Camp, Aldershot, perhaps fall rather within the orbit of the Thames basin and of the Berkshire Downs. The greensand camps are: Anstiebury; Hascombe Hill; Holmbury; and Dry Hill, Lingfield, to which may be added the camp at Caterham. Structure, geography, and the scanty evidence of material finds all suggest that these may be closely associated with the similar camps of North-Wealden Kent.

A certain number of earthworks of dubiously Iron Age date are not here included, e.g. the enclosure at Puttenham, or the destroyed earthwork in Oatlands Park, by Weybridge. The camps listed are: Aldershot, Caesar's Camp; Anstiebury; Ashtead Common; Carshalton (i) destroyed earthwork in the town, (ii) destroyed earthwork on the site of Queen Mary's Hospital; Caterham; Crooksbury Common (i) Soldier's Ring, (ii) Botany Hill; Hascombe Hill; Holmbury; Lingfield, Dry Hill Camp; Weybridge, St. George's Hill; Wimbledon, Caesar's Camp.

For this information I am much indebted to Mr. A. W. G. Lowther, F.S.A. See further D. C. Whimster, *Archaeology of Surrey* (general); S. E. Winbolt, *Surrey Arch. Colls.*, xxxviii (1930), 156–70 (Holmbury); *Surrey Arch. Colls.*, xl (1932), 78–96 (Hascombe); xli (1933), 79 ff. (Lingfield, Dry Hill); Mrs. Birch, *Surrey Arch. Colls.*, xxxvi (1928), 102–7 (Carshalton Town site); *Journ. Royal Anthrop. Inst.*, xxxv, 393 (Carshalton, Queen Mary's Hospital, earlier finds).

(iii) *Sussex*

For the camps in Sussex see Curwen, *Archaeology of Sussex*, pp. 222–62. The following camps are included on pl. xxiv: the Caburn, near Lewes; Chanctonbury and Cissbury; near Worthing; the Devil's Dyke, near Brighton; Highdown Hill, near Angmering, Hollingbury Hill; Piper's Copse, Kirdford; Saxonbury; Seaford Head; Thundersbarrow Hill, Shoreham; the Trundle; Wolstanbury.

(iv) *Hampshire*

The following hill-forts within the area covered by pl. xxiv seem to be of Iron Age date. For all details see J. P. Williams-Freeman, *Field Archaeology as illustrated by Hampshire*. The inclusion of Hungry Hill, Aldershot, in his map seems to be based on some misconception.

Bagsbury, Andover; Bulls Down, near Bramley; Bury Hill, Clatford; Beacon Hill, Burghclere; Caesar's Camp, Aldershot; Chilworth Ring, near Southampton; Danebury, Stockbridge; Ladle Hill, near Sydmonton; Norsbury, Stoke Charity; Old Winchester Hill, Meonstoke; Oliver's Battery, Abbotstone Down; St. Catherine's Hill, Winchester; Tidbury Ring, near Whitchurch; Toot Hill, near Romsey; Tunorbury, South Hayling; Winklebury, near Basingstoke; Woolbury, near Stockbridge.

(v) *Berkshire*

For information on the camps in Berkshire and Buckinghamshire included within the area of pl. xxiv, I am much indebted to Mr. F. M. Underhill.

Blewbury, Blewburton Hill Camp. Large single bank-and-ditch earthwork.

Boxford, Borough Hill Camp. Probably single bank-and-ditch but much destroyed. Sherds of both A and B pottery are found here, including haematite-coated ware.

Chieveley, Bussocks Wood Camp. Large single bank-and-ditch earthwork.

Compton, Perborough Castle. Large single bank-and-ditch earthwork much ploughed out.

Easthampstead, Caesar's Camp. Large single bank-and-ditch earthwork. Finds include a sherd of haematite pottery and a coin of Cunobelin.

Hampstead Norris. (i) Park Wood Camp. Large single bank-and-ditch earthwork. (ii) Oarborough Camp. Destroyed. (iii) Grimsbury Castle. Multiple hill-fort.

Letcombe Regis, Letcombe Castle. Single bank-and-ditch earthwork. Finds include British uninscribed silver coins (Evans, p. 104).

Cookham, Maidenhead Thicket. Remains of a large oval earthwork, destroyed by trench-digging during the Great War.

Inkpen, Walbury Camp. Large multiple earthwork.

(vi) *Buckinghamshire*

Medmenham. (i) Danes Ditches. Single bank-and-ditch earthwork. (ii) Contour camp, single bank-and-ditch, north-east of the church.

(b) *Pottery*

Charlton. The pottery-series collection by Mr. Elliston Erwood from the Iron Age earthwork at Charlton contains both pre-Roman and Roman material. The former belongs to the latest pre-conquest period and is remarkable for the scarcity of Belgic wares. The great majority consists of coarse bead-rim bowls, and a number of these are distinguished by a heavy internal projection of the rim. This feature, which is found also at Crayford (fig. 14), Orpington, and Otford (and in a modified form at Oldbury), and in Surrey at Merle Common, at Ewell, at Fetcham, at Walton-Hill, and at Leigh Hill, Cobham, is evidently a characteristic west Kentish and Surrey form. Its date and distribution (fig. 10) seem to be roughly coincident with those of the 'Patch Grove' stabbed jars (p. 149, fig. 9), but its central date is perhaps slightly earlier. *J.B.A.A.*, xxii (1916), 123–91; xxix (1923), 227–39.

Chiddingstone, Chested Gravel-pit. Part of a bowl decorated with incised ornament of a type found normally in Sussex and Hampshire; with it, sherds of typical corky Iron Age coarse ware. *Arch. Cant.*, xlv (1933), 280. In the Sevenoaks Museum.

Crayford. (i) A large series of late pre-Roman wares from an open village-site near St. Paulinus' Church. Besides the mass of coarser pottery it includes a small percentage of South-eastern B and of Belgic fabrics. *Proc. Prehist. Soc.*, iv (1938), 151–68.

(ii) Part of a bead-rim bowl of the form characteristic of the Charlton series. From an unknown site at Crayford. Fig. 14, no. 16. In the Dartford Public Museum.

Dartford. (i) Three Iron Age sherds from the site of the Dartford County Hospital, one combed in panels, the other two similar to a vessel from Crayford (*Proc. Prehist. Soc.*, iv (1938), 158, fig. 4, no. 6). Information from Mr. S. Priest, F.G.S.

(ii) In the Dartford Museum there is a small series of pottery, evidently from a single site, the identity of which is now lost. It includes coarse bowls in corky ware of characteristic Crayford type (cf. *Proc. Prehist. Soc.*, iv (1938), 158, fig. 4), and a lattice-scored vessel, also paralleled at Crayford (*op. cit.*, fig. 7, no. 4).

Gravesend. Pottery from a pit, excavated 1938–9 by Mr. J. P. T. Burchell, F.S.A. It bears little relation to that from Charlton, Crayford, and Dartford, and the fabric of some sherds, a hard grey ware with strongly polished black surface, is akin to that from some east Kentish sites. The percentage of combed wares is higher than usual in west Kentish sites where this form of decoration is poorly represented. Information from Mr. J. P. T. Burchell, F.S.A.

Horns Cross, near Dartford. The base of a large storage-jar in the shell-gritted corky ware characteristic of the Crayford village-site. In the Dartford Public Museum.

Hulbury. A series of pottery from the site of the presumed destroyed Iron Age earthwork above Lullingstone Castle (see p. 168) is illustrated in fig. 18. The site was excavated between 1915 and 1919 by the Dartford Naturalists' Field Club and the Dartford Antiquarians Society, and a full account of the work will be published shortly by Mr. S. Priest, F.G.S., to whom I am indebted for all information about it.

Fig. 18, nos. 1–5. Very coarse hand-made ware containing a great deal of grit. For the distribution of this class of pottery in the Thames Estuary, see p. 148, fig. 8.

6. Wheel-turned hard grey ware with a highly polished chestnut-brown and black surface. Part of a foot-ring bowl, cf. no. 7.

7. Foot-ring bowl, wheel-turned hard grey ware with a black polished surface. *Proc. Prehist. Soc.*, iv (1938), 165, fig. 11, no. 8.

8. Grey ware, slightly corky, table-turned, with a slightly polished black surface. Cf. *Antiq. Journ.*, viii (1928), 94, fig. b, from Sturry.

9. As no. 7 but less corky and better polished.

Maidstone. A small plain omphalos-bowl of typical 'South-eastern B' form. *Proc. Prehist. Soc.*, iv (1938), 164, fig. 10, no. 4. In Maidstone Museum.

Orpington. (i) From several sites between High Street, St. Mary Cray, and the Orpington By-Pass, Mr. A. Eldridge has recovered Roman pottery of the first century A.D. With this are included wares of pre-Roman type, including 'Patch Grove' stabbed jars (see p. 165, fig. 16, nos. 3–4) and bead-rim bowls of the 'Charlton' form (see above, p. 170, *s.v.* Charlton), and some of these are probably of pre-conquest date. In the possession of Mr. A. Eldridge.

(ii) Beneath the Roman villa by Orpington station was an earlier pit, unassociated with the villa. This contained a Belgic globular bowl with rilled neck. In the possession of Mr. Elliston Erwood, F.S.A., who is intending shortly to publish the site.

(iii) From Orpington, 'on the river Cray adjoining St. Mary Cray'. A light red wheel-turned Belgic vessel with a strongly marked shoulder cordon. In the Brighton Museum.

Otford. The percentage of wares of pre-conquest type found on the site of the 'Progress' Roman villa at Otford is sufficiently striking to justify inclusion in this list, although

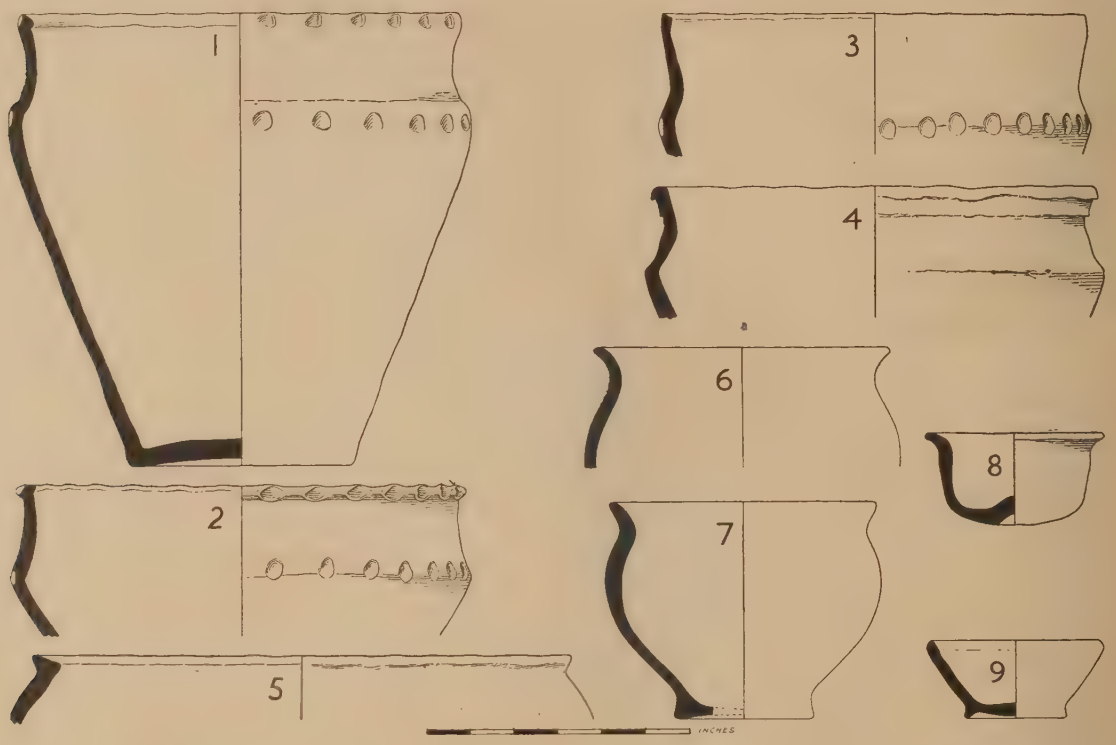

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Fig. 18. Iron Age pottery from Hulbury (in the Dartford Public Museum)
(Reproduced by the courtesy of Mr. S. Priest, F.G.S.)

it may be doubted whether any of them are actually of pre-conquest date. They include 'Patch Grove' stabbed jars (fig. 16, nos. 1–2) and a bead-rim bowl of 'Charlton' type (fig. 14, no. 15). See also fig. 14, no. 14. *Report of the Excavation Committee of the Sevenoaks Society on the Roman site at Otford* (Sevenoaks, 1928). In the Sevenoaks Museum.

Plaxtol. An omphalos-bowl of typical 'South-eastern B' type. *Proc. Prehist. Soc.*, iv (1938), 165, fig. 11, no. 3.

Shooter's Hill. Iron Age pottery from a pit. In the possession of Mr. Elliston Erwood, F.S.A.

Stone. The contents of a recently discovered Belgic cemetery have been published by Mrs. M. A. Cotton and Miss K. M. Richardson (*Proc. Prehist. Soc.*, vii (1941), 134). It covers only the latest pre-Roman period and belongs presumably to the phase of Belgic expansion under Cunobelin (see above, p. 153).

(c) *Glass beads*

See above, p. 165.

(d) *Coins*

See above, p. 154.

Lists of Special Pottery-types current in the Thames Estuary during the Early Iron Age

(i) *Iron Age A pottery with finger-tip ornament in the Thames Estuary* (figs. 8 and 18)

(a) *Essex:*

Asheldham. In Colchester Museum.
Barkingside. In the possession of Mr. J. Hazzledine Warren.
Danbury, Twitty Fee. In Colchester Museum, *Antiq. Journ.*, xiii (1933), 61, fig. 2; xiv (1934), 186, fig. 1.
Great Bromley. In the Institute of Archaeology, Regent's Park. *Antiq. Journ.*, xvii (1937), 194.
Rayleigh, Hullbridge. In West Ham Museum.

(b) *Hertfordshire:*

Wilbury Hill. In Letchworth Museum.

(c) *Kent:*

Hulbury. In Dartford Public Museum. See p. 172, fig. 18.

(d) *Middlesex:*

Ponders End. In the possession of Mr. J. Hazzledine Warren.
Walthamstow. In the British Museum.

(e) *Surrey:*

Cobham, Leigh Hill. In Guildford Museum. *Surrey Arch. Colls.*, xxii (1909), 137–54.
Guildford, St. Martha's Hill. In Guildford Museum.
The Thames, Mortlake. In the London Museum.
Wimbledon, Caesar's Camp. In Guildford Museum.

(ii) *'Foot-ring bowls' of the form characteristic of the first period at Oldbury* (see p. 144, and fig. 6)

(a) *Kent:*

Bigberry, Harbledown. *Arch. Cant.*, xlviii (1936), 159–60, figs. 4–5, nos. 5, 6, 11, and 23.
Crayford. *Proc. Prehist. Soc.*, iv (1938), 163, fig. 9.
Hulbury, near Lullingstone Castle. *Proc. Prehist. Soc.*, iv (1938), 165, fig. 11, 8.
Oldbury. Fig. 12.

(b) *Surrey:*

Ewell (Purberry Shot site). Information from Mr. A. W. G. Lowther.
Hascombe. Sherd in Guildford Museum.
Holmbury. Fig. 5.
Walton Hill (?). Painted vessel of Horsted Keynes type (cf. *Sussex Arch. Colls.*, lxxviii (1937), 257, fig. 1). Information from Mr. A. W. G. Lowther. No base yet discovered.

(c) *Sussex:*

Caburn. *Sussex Arch. Colls.*, lxxx (1939), 244, fig. J. 59.
Findon Park. *Archaeologia*, lxxvi (1927), 21, fig. 11; *Sussex Arch. Colls.*, lxxx (1939), 231, fig. F, nos. 5–6.
Horsted Keynes. *Sussex Arch. Colls.*, lxxviii (1937), 261, fig. 30.
Little Horsted Lane. *Proc. Prehist. Soc.*, iv (1938), 165, fig. 11, 1.
Newhaven. *Sussex Arch. Colls.*, lxxx (1939), 285, fig. 5, 2.
Park Brow. *Archaeologia*, lxxvii (1927), 22, fig. 16; *Sussex Arch. Colls.*, lxxx (1939), 231, fig. F, nos. 2–4.
Saxonbury. Information from Mr. S. E. Winbolt.

(iii) *Pre-Roman pedestal-urns in the Thames Estuary*

The distribution-map of pedestal-urns, fig. 11, is compiled from the lists published by Hawkes and Dunning, 'The Belgae of Gaul and Britain', *Archaeological Journal*, lxxxvii (1930), 325 ff. and fig. 7. It does not of course cover the whole field of their British distribution, only those areas immediately adjacent to the Thames Estuary. Pedestal-urns of obviously Roman date are not included. To Hawkes and Dunning's lists are added:

(a) *Essex:*

Burnham-on-Crouch. Information from Mr. E. J. Rudsdale.
Chelmsford. Information from Mr. E. J. Rudsdale.
Colchester. Add, *Soc. Antiq. Research Report*, forthcoming, from Sheepen Farm.
Kelvedon. *Colchester and Essex Museum Report* (1937), 42, pl. XVII, 1–2.
Lexden. Add, *Proc. Prehist. Soc.*, iv (1938), 166.
Prittlewell. Information from Mr. E. J. Rudsdale.

(b) *Hertfordshire:*

Baldock. An unpublished disc-pedestal of Welwyn type from Walls Field. In the Letchworth Museum.
Great Wymondley. Information from the late Mr. W. P. Westell.
St. Albans, Prae Wood. *Soc. Antiq. Report, Verulamium*, 164, fig. 16.
Welwyn. Add, *Antiq. Journ.*, xviii (1938), 357, fig. 4; 363, fig. 7, from the Lockleys villa site.
Welwyn Garden City. Disc-pedestals, not yet published, from an extensive occupation site found beneath the new secondary school in 1938. Information from Mr. W. R. Hughes.
Wheathampstead. *Soc. Antiq. Report, Verulamium*, pl. XLIX.

(c) *Kent:*

Bigberry. *Arch. Cant.*, xlviii (1936), fig. vi, 81.
Charlton. *J.B.A.A.*, xxii (1916), 179, fig. 21.
Crayford. *Proc. Prehist. Soc.*, iv (1938), 160, fig. 6.
Folkestone. In Folkestone Museum, from Belgic burials underlying the Roman villa.
Oldbury. See p. 162.
Stone. Publication by Mrs. M. A. Cotton and Miss K. M. Richardson, *Proc. Prehist. Soc.*, vii (1941), 134.
Westgate. Information from Mr. J. P. T. Burchell, found with Claudian pottery in a pit on the cliffs, 1938.
Worth. *Antiq. Journ.*, viii (1928), 84, fig. 159.

(d) *Surrey:*

The reputed pedestal-urn from Cobham, Leigh Hill (*Surrey Arch. Colls.*, xxii (1909), 153, fig. 23) is an 'ideal restoration' from a section of the rim and shoulder only of a vessel (now in Guildford Museum) of a type which may well in fact have stood upon a flat base or upon a low foot-ring.

(iv) *Pottery of the Patch Grove type*[1]

Ashtead, Surrey. From the Claudian levels underlying the villa at Ashtead. In the Guildford Museum. *Proc. Prehist. Soc.*, iv (1938), 165, fig. 11, 7.

Banstead, Surrey. Unassociated; almost certainly from a burial. The vessel has stabbing both at the shoulder and round the belly. In the Guildford Museum.

Cobham, Surrey. From the Leigh Hill site (*Surrey Arch. Colls.*, xxii (1909), 137–54). In the Guildford Museum.

Crayford, Kent. From the late pre-Roman village-site. In the Dartford Public Museum. *Proc. Prehist. Soc.*, iv (1938), 159, fig. 6, 6.

Ewell, Surrey. Loosely associated with Flavian pottery, including Samian. In the Guildford Museum.

Hale (near Otford, Kent). One sherd, unassociated. In the Sevenoaks Public Library and Museum.

Limpsfield, Surrey. From Merle Common, associated with bead-rims (some of Charlton type) and a little post-conquest pottery. In the possession of Mr. I. D. Margary, F.S.A. *Surrey Arch. Colls.*, xlii (1934), 110, pl. 23.

London. Presumably post A.D. 43. In the Guildhall Museum. *Catal. Guildhall Museum* (1908), 20, no. 310, pl. vi, 7.

Ospringe, Kent. From a grave with an amphora. *Soc. Antiq. Report, Ospringe*, no. 461, pl. xxxix.

[1] In the compilation of this list I have received much help from Mr. A. W. G. Lowther and from Mr. G. C. Dunning.

Otford, Kent. From the Roman villa on the site of the Fever Hospital. One vessel, with rilling at neck and two lines of stabbing, was apparently used as the cinerary urn of a cremation with Roman pottery of the second century. In the Sevenoaks Public Library and Museum. Fig. 16.

St. Mary Cray, Kent. (i) From pits beside the Orpington By-pass, half a mile south of St. Mary Cray station, with pottery from the mid-first century A.D. to the end of the second century.

(ii) From the Recreation Ground, off St. Mary Cray High Street, a quarter of a mile east of site (i). These vessels are in the possession of Mr. A. Eldridge, who has kindly given permission to reproduce them.

Southfleet, Kent. Shoulder of a vessel in the Dartford Public Museum; found apparently with three wheel-turned bead-rim bowls.

Titsey, Surrey. From the Romano-Celtic temple. *Surrey Arch. Colls.*, xliv (1936), 98, fig. 3.

Twitton (near Otford, Kent). From a site on Frog Farm, which also included Romanized versions of the type. In the Sevenoaks Public Library and Museum.

(v) *List of bead-rim bowls of the 'Charlton' type* (see p. 170, *s.v.* Charlton; distribution-map, fig. 10)

(a) *Kent:*

Charlton. P. 170; *J.B.A.A.*, xxii (1916), 123–91; xxix (1923), 227–39.
Crayford. P. 164, fig. 14, no. 16.
Orpington. P. 171.
Otford. Pp. 164, 171, fig. 14, no. 15.

(b) *Surrey:*

Cobham, Leigh Hill. In Guildford Museum.
Ewell, 'Purberry Shot' site. In Guildford Museum.
Fetcham, Hawk's Hill. In Guildford Museum.
Limpsfield, Merle Common. In the possession of Mr. I. D. Margary, F.S.A.
Walton Hill. In Guildford Museum.

Of these sites 'Purberry Shot', Ewell, has also produced foot-ring bowls and Patch Grove vessels stratified below Roman deposits; and at Walton Hill the Roman villa is preceded by Iron Age pottery, in part of Sussex types, e.g. Caburn II ware and a painted vessel closely analogous to those from Horsted Keynes.

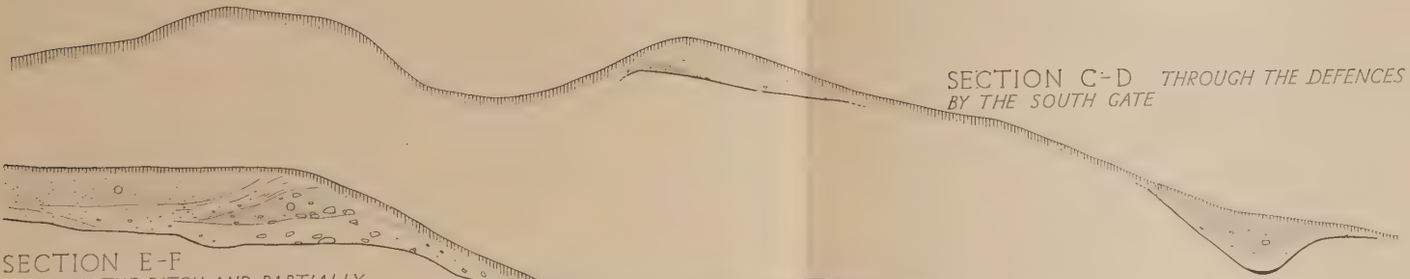
OLDBURY

SECTION A-B *THROUGH THE DEFENCES BY THE N.E. GATE*

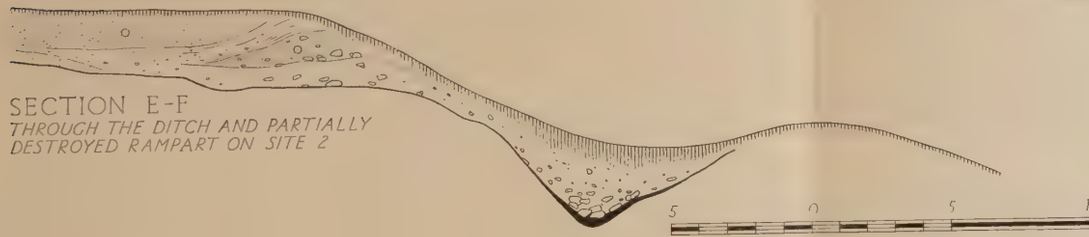
SUGGESTED RECONSTRUCTION OF THE FIGHTING PLATFORM (SEE ABOVE SECTION A-B)

SECTION J-K *THROUGH THE INTURNED BANK OF THE S. GATE*

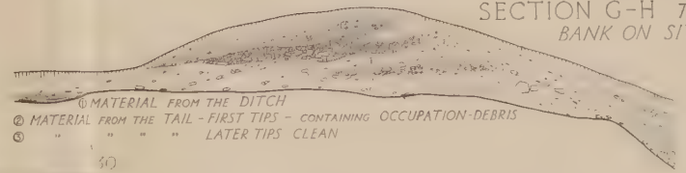
SECTION C-D *THROUGH THE DEFENCES BY THE SOUTH GATE*



SECTION E-F
THROUGH THE DITCH AND PARTIALLY DESTROYED RAMPART ON SITE 2



SECTION G-H *THROUGH THE MAIN BANK ON SITE I*



SCALE OF FEET

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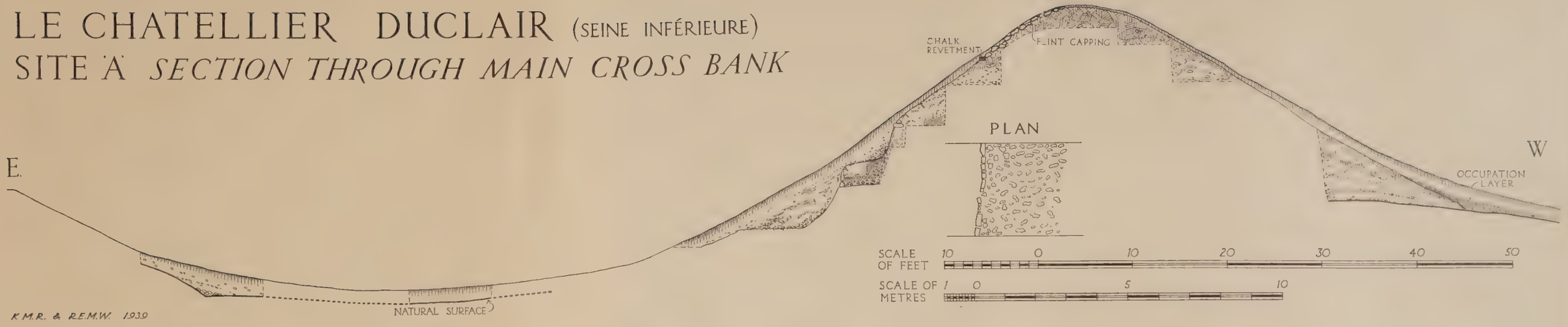
LE CHATELLIER DUCLAIR (SEINE INFÉRIEURE)

SITE A *SECTION THROUGH MAIN CROSS BANK*



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